

# KNIGHTHOODS OF CHRIST



Malcolm Barber

# **Knighthoods of Christ**

Essays on the History of the Crusades and the  
Knights Templar, Presented to Malcolm Barber

*Edited by*

NORMAN HOUSLEY  
*University of Leicester, UK*

**ASHGATE**



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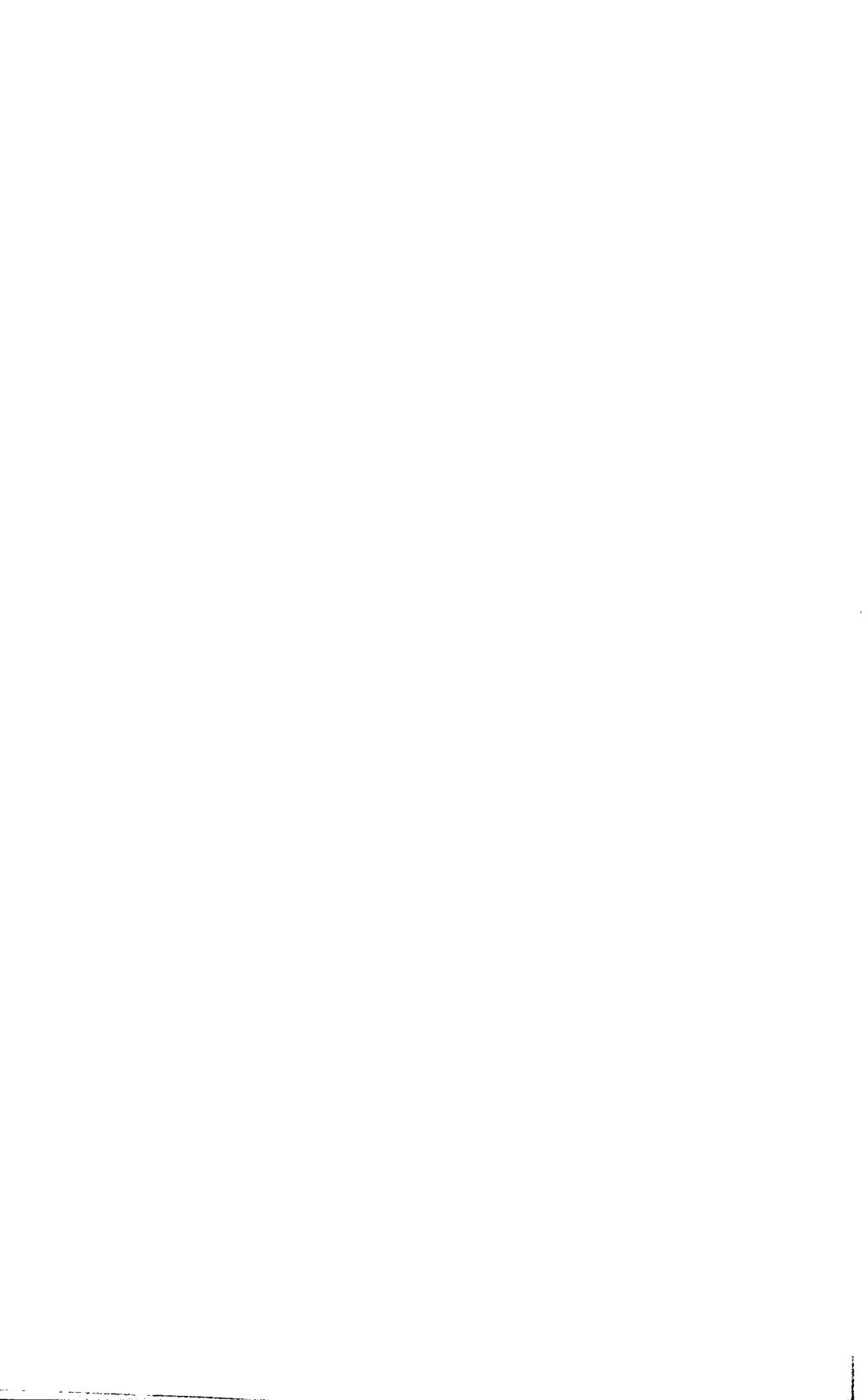


# Preface

The term *militia Christi* (knighthood of Christ) was used in the central Middle Ages to describe both individuals who had taken the cross and professed members of the Order of the Temple in Jerusalem (the Knights Templar). It is appropriate as the title for a collection of essays given to Malcolm Barber because Malcolm has illuminated both of these fields of research, quite apart from others such as the history of the Cathars and the Albigensian Crusade. Our hope was that the collection would include a contribution by Malcolm's PhD supervisor, Bernard Hamilton, but circumstances have made this impossible, and Professor Hamilton's essay will be published elsewhere.

It has been a pleasure to edit the volume, and I am grateful to John Smedley of Ashgate for agreeing to publish it, to the contributors for their courteous and willing assistance, and to Judi Upton-Ward for compiling the bibliography of Malcolm's works, complete to 2005. Thanks are also due to Helen Nicholson and Jonathan Riley-Smith for advice on technical matters relating to the Templars.

NORMAN HOUSLEY  
*February 2006*



# Malcolm Barber: An Appreciation

Anne Curry

I rate him among the top one per cent of history academics I know. Were I ever given the opportunity to create a department from scratch, Malcolm Barber would be among my first appointments.

I will not embarrass Malcolm by disclosing who said this of him, but I hope that neither he nor the ex-colleague who made the comment will object to my opening this appreciation with it. It provides in a nutshell why this festschrift has come about at all. Malcolm is both an exceptionally distinguished scholar and an excellent colleague and friend, and I was delighted to be invited to contribute to this volume.

His intellectual journey began in West London, more precisely at the Walpole Grammar School, Ealing, which he attended between 1954 and 1961. In the autumn of 1961, he went up to Nottingham University to read History, graduating with a first-class degree three years later. He then began research on the grand masters of the Order of the Temple under Bernard Hamilton, a formidable scholar in his own right who played a vital role in Malcolm's formation as a historian and who has been a close friend ever since those early days. It was at Nottingham too that Malcolm met someone else who shaped his destiny (and cultivated his passion for gardening) – his wife, Elizabeth. Malcolm's family has always been central to his life and activities, through his children Ruth and David, and now through his grandchildren. I am sure that I am not the only contributor to, or reader of, this festschrift who has reason to be grateful to the Barbers for their friendship and hospitality over many years. Their home-grown raspberries are amongst the finest in the Thames Valley, and Elizabeth is an excellent chef as well as pianist. One of these days we will persuade Malcolm to sing!

No sooner had he completed the second year of his postgraduate research based at the British School at Rome than he was appointed to a temporary post in 1966 at the University of Reading as an assistant lecturer at the princely sum of £1,105 per annum. There he formed part of the 'Nottingham mafia' under James Holt, recently translated as Professor of Medieval History to Reading. He was offered a permanent post in April 1969. The letter from the Registrar, addressed 'Dear Barber', reminds us that the swinging sixties took some time to undermine the social protocols beloved of British universities. Even when I joined the Reading Department in 1978, staff were still able to enjoy tea and coffee in china cups served by liveried staff, and to relax in the Faculty of Letters and Social Sciences Senior Common Room on chairs on which the Queen had gazed when she opened the building in the mid-1950s. Subsequent modifications of that room very much sum up the changes in

universities which Malcolm has experienced over his career. Porcelain gave way to polystyrene, and staff to students, until finally the room was re-equipped as the hub of staff training and quality assurance 'events'.

It may come as a surprise that Malcolm was very nearly lost to the medieval world after he completed his doctorate in 1968. Moving in the opposite direction to Dom David Knowles, whose first work was on the American Civil War, Malcolm at one time toyed with a project on urban life 1865–1900 which aimed at examining 'the living conditions and underlying philosophies of those who dealt with and wrote about the social problems created by the rapid urbanisation of the USA'. The choice of topic is characteristic of Malcolm's life-long interest in and concern for the disadvantaged in society. At his retirement from Reading in 2005, he asked not for the customary gifts for himself, but that donations be made to Water Aid.

American history's loss was the medievalists' gain. Similarly, we can be thankful that Malcolm did not speak Welsh, since otherwise he might have taken up a post with the embryonic Open University. His commitment to outreach has persisted. He has participated in many Adult Education activities and Summer Schools, and was involved in the development of the Certificate in History within the Department of Continuing Education at Reading. He has been a regular speaker to the WEA, schools, clubs and especially to branches of the Historical Association, serving as Treasurer (1979–82) and then President (1985–90) of the Reading Branch. In addition, he has contributed to various television and radio programmes, ranging from a Japanese broadcast on the Ark of the Covenant and an Arts and Entertainment Channel special on Ancient Mysteries to the calmer waters of Melvyn Bragg's *In Our Time* on Radio 4.

As a lecturer at Reading, Malcolm quickly threw himself into the maelstrom of teaching as universities began to experience the effects of post-Roberts expansion. He was closely involved with the development of a new first-year course, 'The Structure of European Society 500–1800', which was representative of the new historical approaches then emerging. The avowed aim of the course was to move away from the political history of the minority (that is, the elite) towards an understanding of the wider-ranging experiences of the majority. This social inclusivity was, and is, characteristic of Malcolm's approach to medieval history. His canvas has always been a broad one, but this has never prevented him from probing deeply. The 'Structure' course pioneered the use of documents as the best way of instructing on, and learning about, the period. Documentary study has continued to underpin Malcolm's teaching throughout his career. In recent years, he has worked with two literary scholars to widen access to key texts as well as to extend scholarship, first with Keith Bate on *The Templars*, and then with Marianne Ailes on a parallel text and new edition of Ambroise. For Malcolm, 'documents' are not just those which were written, but also those which were built, painted, sculpted and imagined. From early in his career, Malcolm made it his job to see the history which he was researching, in Italy, France, the Middle East, as well as to examine its written remains. His strong sense of the impact of the physical environment (the influence of 'Malcolm

the gardener' perhaps?) has underpinned many of his works. Characteristically, it opens *The Two Cities*.

That book goes on to consider structures and organizations. Over his many years at Reading, Malcolm held the usual array of offices and sat on the customary range of committees, being promoted to Senior Lecturer in 1988 and to a personal chair in 1993. He endeared himself to colleagues and students alike by his hard work, his level of commitment, his openness and sense of humour. His teaching was much admired and enjoyed. He was, as a former colleague put it, 'a useful man to have' – nowhere more so than in the Graduate Centre for Medieval Studies which had been established at Reading in 1965, less than a year before he arrived in the University. Malcolm was almost continuously involved with the Centre throughout the first forty years of its existence as a teacher, supervisor and Library representative. From 1977 to 1985, he edited *Reading Medieval Studies*, and from 1986 to 1989 was Director. It was most fitting that he should have chosen to have his formal University farewell at the GCMS Summer Symposium of 2005 in the company of past and present colleagues and students, as well as of fellow medievalists from other universities.

Nor was it surprising that he should have helped to organize the Symposium, both in advance and on the day. His contribution to medieval studies has always extended beyond his own researches, embracing encouragement to younger scholars and advice to historians worldwide as well as his editorships of *The Journal of Medieval History* from 1996 to 2001, of the *Annual Bulletin of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East* from 1985 to 1990, and his involvement in Ashgate's *Crusade Texts in Translation*. He has also contributed to the bringing together of scholars, as for instance in the conference on the Military Orders at Clerkenwell in 1992, and in the fourth Medieval Chronicle Conference at Reading in 2005. Malcolm is a very collegial scholar, ready to share information and to guide others in their researches. I am sure many share my personal debt to him for unflagging support and wise words over the years. This festschrift would not exist were it not the case. But the greatest debt is to Malcolm for his own scholarship. In a characteristic show of humility, he might tell us that he was lucky to find such rich and untapped areas to research as the Templars and the Cathars. The luck is ours in what he has made of them.

Building upon his doctoral work on the masters of the order, he published *The Trial of the Templars* in 1978. Its impact was immediate. Two years later it went into paperback, a relatively uncommon phenomenon in those days. It has been reprinted and re-edited five times since, and been translated into Spanish, Italian and French, with Turkish and Greek versions in press. *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple* (1994) has been translated into Italian, German, Swedish, Polish and Spanish, with Turkish and Czech editions due out in 2006. *The Cathars* (2000) found its way into Polish as well as paperback. Malcolm's international standing is undoubtedly. He gave the first Bertie Wilkinson Memorial Lecture in Toronto in 1982, and since then he has spoken all over the world. In 1998, he was invited to take up a Fellowship at the National Humanities Centre as part of the Lilly Colloquium, and in the following year was Whichard Visiting Distinguished Professor in the

Humanities at East Carolina University. Within the UK, his esteem had already been recognized by a British Academy Readership from 1989 to 1991 and a Leverhulme Trust Fellowship in 1997–98

What is it that has marked Malcolm's work out? A constant theme in reviews of all his works has been his readability. Another is his comprehensiveness. Witness Bob Moore's comments in *The Observer* on *The Trial of the Templars*: 'thorough, intelligent and well written, a book to enjoy as well as admire'. A third theme is how well he rises to a challenge. All agreed that *The Two Cities* was a formidable undertaking. As Alan Forey put it: 'no doubt many middle aged medievalists, after long years of teaching are tempted to write a general book on Medieval Europe. Most stop at the stage of preliminary planning, for to write a book of this kind is becoming an increasingly difficult and daunting task.'<sup>1</sup> Malcolm's ambition was to produce a penetrating and comprehensive survey which went well beyond the standard textbook in its scope and scholarship, and this is precisely what he achieved. It is 'one of the most thorough one-volume studies ever produced on the high middle ages'.<sup>2</sup> As a textbook, it set new standards, not least by means of its success in making the primary evidence come alive for the undergraduate reader. Its double index is a *tour de force*, and its compilation equally so, in Elizabeth's reminiscence, since the through-draughts of their house had a tendency to disturb the orderly piles of file cards all too often.

Malcolm has the knack of making even the most complicated matter understandable. What he writes is engaging, or, as Theodore Evergates put it with regard to *The New Knighthood*, 'accessible and appealing'.<sup>3</sup> Yet not for Malcolm any polemical outburst or playing to the gallery. He trawls widely and deeply for his sources. His work is meticulous and judicious. *The Cathars* was described by Sarah Hamilton as 'a well balanced synthesis typical of Barber's approach'.<sup>4</sup> These works are paralleled by a host of researched articles on a wide range of topics, all equally searching and significant.

I began with a quote from one former colleague. I shall end with another:

Malcolm does not throw his learning and personality around, but what he says counts.

That is why the contributors to this volume are honoured to have the opportunity to thank him and congratulate him, and to wish him all the best in his retirement.

---

1 *English Historical Review* 110 (1995), p. 151.

2 *The History Teacher* (1997), p. 226.

3 *American Historical Review* 100 (1995), pp. 997–8.

4 *History* 87 (2002), p. 129.

# Bibliography of Works by Malcolm Barber, 1970–2005

Judi Upton-Ward

Works marked with an asterisk (\*) have been reprinted in *Crusaders and Heretics, Twelfth to Fourteenth Centuries* (Variorum Collected Studies Series CS 498, London, 1995) below.

## 1970

‘The Origins of the Order of the Temple’, *Studia Monastica* 12 (1970), pp. 219–40.\*

## 1972

‘James of Molay, the Last Grand Master of the Temple’, *Studia Monastica* 14 (1972), pp. 91–124.\*

## 1973

‘Propaganda in the Middle Ages: the Charges against the Templars’, *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 17 (1973), pp. 42–57.

## 1977

‘Women and Catharism’, *Reading Medieval Studies* 3 (1977), pp. 45–62.\*

## 1977–85

Editor, *Reading Medieval Studies*.

## 1978

*The Trial of the Templars* (Cambridge, 1978; reprinted 1980, 1987, 1989, 1991), vii + 311pp.

## 1981

‘Lepers, Jews and Moslems: The Plot to Overthrow Christendom in 1321’, *History* 66 (1981), pp. 1–17 (reprinted in *The Other Side of Western Civilisation: Readings in Everyday Life*, ed. S. Chodorow, New York, 1984).\*

‘The Pastoureaux of 1320’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 32 (1981), pp. 1–24.\*

## 1982

‘The Templars and the Turin Shroud’, *Catholic Historical Review* 68 (1982), pp. 206–25.\*

‘The World Picture of Philip the Fair’, *Journal of Medieval History* 8 (1982), pp. 13–27.\*

## 1984

‘The Social Context of the Templars’, *TRHS* 34 (1984), pp. 27–46.\*

‘The Crusade of the Shepherds, 1251’, in *Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Meeting of the Western Society for French History, Winnipeg 1982*, ed. J.F. Sweets (Lawrence, KS, 1984), pp. 1–23.\*

## 1985–90

Editor, *Bulletin of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East*.

## 1989

‘Western Attitudes to Frankish Greece in the Thirteenth Century’, in *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, ed. B. Hamilton, B. Arbel and D. Jacoby (London, 1989), pp. 111–28 (also in *Mediterranean Historical Review* 4.1, 1989).\*

‘The Second Crusade 1147–1149’, in *Chronicles of the Crusades*, ed. E. Hallam (London, 1989), pp. 115–49.

‘Update: The Crusades’, *The Historian* (Spring 1989), pp. 16–18.

## 1990

‘Catharism and the Occitan Nobility: The Lordships of Cabaret, Minerve and Termes’, in *The Ideals and Practice of Knighthood, Volume 3: Papers from the Fourth Strawberry Hill Conference, 1988*, ed. C. Harper-Bill and E. Harvey (Woodbridge, 1990), pp. 1–19.\*

*Los Templarios*, Cuadernos. Historia 219 (Madrid, 1990), 31pp.

**1991**

*The Two Cities: Medieval Europe 1050–1320* (London, 1991), 581pp.

‘The Crusades against the Cathars’, ‘The Popular Crusades, 1212–1320’, and ‘The Fall of the Templars’, in *The Atlas of the Crusades*, ed. J. Riley-Smith (London, 1991), pp. 76–7, 82–3, 124–5.

**1992**

‘Supplying the Crusader States: The Role of the Templars’, in *The Horns of Hattin*, ed. B.Z. Kedar (Jerusalem and London, 1992), pp. 314–26.\*

**1993**

*The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple* (Cambridge, 1993), xxi + 441pp.

*The Trial of the Templars* (Cambridge, reprint, Canto series, 1993), vii + 312pp.

**1994**

(ed.) *The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick* (London, 1994), xxvii + 401pp.

*The Two Cities: Medieval Europe 1050–1320* (London, paperback reprint 1994), 581pp.

‘The Order of St Lazarus and the Crusades’, *Catholic Historical Review* 80 (1994), pp. 439–56.\*

**1995**

*Crusaders and Heretics, Twelfth to Fourteenth Centuries* (Variorum Collected Studies Series CS 498; London, 1995), x + 289pp.

**1996**

‘Knights Hospitaller’ and ‘Knights Templar’, in *The Dictionary of Art*, vol. 18, ed. J. Turner (London, 1996), pp. 150–53, 153–5.

**1997**

‘How the West Saw Medieval Islam’, *History Today* 47 (1997), pp. 44–50.  
‘Templars’, in *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, ed. E.A. Livingstone (Oxford, 1997), pp. 1,584–5.

‘Angevins and Capetians in the late Twelfth Century’, and ‘The Templar Network’, in *Atlas of Medieval Europe*, ed. A. Mackay (London, 1997), pp. 71–2, 91–2.

**1998**

‘Frontier Warfare in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: the Campaign of Jacob’s Ford, 1178–9’, in *The Crusades and their Sources: Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton*, ed. J. France and W.G. Zajac (Aldershot, 1998), pp. 9–22.

‘The Trial of the Templars Revisited’, in *The Military Orders, Volume 2: Welfare and Warfare*, ed. H. Nicholson (Aldershot, 1998), pp. 329–42.

‘Templars’, in *Online Reference Book (ORB) for Medieval Studies*, ed. G. Schriber (Memphis, TN, 1998).

**1999**

*The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple* (Polish trans., 1999).

**2000**

‘Moving Cathars: The Italian Connection in the Thirteenth Century’, *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* (2000), pp. 5–19.

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‘The Albigensian Crusades: Wars Like Any Other?’, in *Dei Gesta per Francos: Crusade Studies in Honour of Jean Richard*, ed. M. Balard, B.Z. Kedar and J. Riley-Smith (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 45–55.

‘Introduction of Bernard of Clairvaux’, in *In Praise of the New Knighthood*, trans. J. Greenia (Kalamazoo, MI, 2001), pp. 9–27.

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*Templarios. La Nueva Caballería*, trans. A. Solé (Barcelona, 2001), 477pp.  
(ed.) *Journal of Medieval History* 27, no. 1, 2001, pp. 1–99.

**2002**

with Bate, K. (eds and trans.) *The Templars: Manchester Medieval Sources* (Manchester, 2002), xviii + 350pp.

**2003**

*The Trial of the Templars* (Folio Society, 2003), xvii + 382pp.

‘The Career of Philip of Nablus in the Kingdom of Jerusalem’, in *The Experience of Crusading, Volume 2: Defining the Crusader Kingdom*, ed. P. Edbury and J. Phillips (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 60–75.

**2004**

‘The Templar Preceptory of Douzens (Aude) in the Twelfth Century’, in *The World of Eleanor of Aquitaine: Literature and Society in Southern France between the Eleventh and the Thirteenth Centuries*, ed. M. Bull and C. Leglu (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 37–55.

**2005**

‘The Impact of the Fourth Crusade in the West: The Distribution of Relics after 1204’, in *Urbs capta: The Fourth Crusade and its Consequences*, ed. A. Laiou (Paris, 2005), pp. 325–34.



# Abbreviations

AA	Albert of Aachen, 'Historia Hierosolymitana', <i>RHC Oc.</i> 4.265–713
CCCM	<i>Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medievalis</i>
EHR	<i>English Historical Review</i>
FC	Fulcher of Chartres, <i>Historia Hierosolymitana (1095–1127)</i> , ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913)
GF	<i>Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum</i> , ed. R. Hill (London, 1962)
MGH	<i>Monumenta Germaniae historica</i>
	<i>Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae historica Deutsches Institut für Erforschung des Mittelalters</i> (Stuttgart, 1938–)
PL	<i>Scriptores</i> , ed. G.H. Pertz et al., 32 vols (Hanover, Weimar, Berlin, Stuttgart and Cologne, 1826–1934)
RHC	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina</i> , ed. J.P. Migne, 221 vols (Paris, 1841–64)
	<i>Recueil des historiens des croisades</i> , ed. Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, 16 vols (Paris, 1841–1906)
RRH	<i>Arm.</i> <i>Documents arméniens</i> , 2 vols (1896–1906)
	<i>Lois</i> <i>Lois</i> , 2 vols (1841–3)
	<i>Oc.</i> <i>Historiens occidentaux</i> , 5 vols (1844–95)
	<i>Or.</i> <i>Historiens orientaux</i> , 5 vols (1872–1906)
RS	R. Röhricht, ed., <i>Regesta regni Hierosolymitani</i> (Innsbrück, 1893); <i>Additamenta</i> (Innsbrück, 1904)
TRHS	<i>Rolls Series: Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages published under the Direction of the Master of the Rolls</i> , 99 vols in 251 (London, 1858–96)
WT	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i>
	William of Tyre, <i>Chronicon</i> , ed. R.B.C. Huygens, 2 vols, CCCM 63–63A (Turnhout, 1986)



# PART I

## The Crusades



## Chapter 1

# Byzantium in Western Chronicles before the First Crusade

John France

Modern writers have seen the First Crusade as marking a turning-point in relations between Catholic Christendom and the Byzantine empire. In particular, it has been supposed that the First Crusade fostered amongst the political elite of the west a real hostility towards Byzantium and all its works. Thus a recent study stresses the overwhelmingly negative attitude to Byzantium found in twelfth-century chroniclers and emphasizes the way in which Bohemond played upon the failure of the Greeks to recognize the claims to supremacy of the Holy See in order to justify his 'crusade' against Byzantium in 1107.<sup>1</sup> In fact, as this study and others have been careful to point out, Byzantium often played a positive role in the diplomacy of the papacy and other western powers which centred on the need to support the new Latin states of the east.<sup>2</sup> However, only one author has questioned the underlying assumption that the ruling elites of the west in the twelfth century were fundamentally hostile to and contemptuous of Byzantium. M. Angold sees the chroniclers of the twelfth century as fundamentally indifferent, rather than hostile, to Byzantium, though the conclusion rests on analysis of a relatively limited range of chroniclers.<sup>3</sup> This is an interesting idea, and it provides a firm warning against judging twelfth-century sources in the light of the outcome of the Fourth Crusade.

It has to be recognized that many western chronicles of the twelfth century do express hostile attitudes to Byzantium, especially in connection with their accounts of the First Crusade. However, there is now some understanding that much of this hostility can be blamed on a single work which poisoned western chroniclers against Byzantium, and many would agree that 'as far as the image of Byzantium in the west was concerned, it was above all the *Gesta Francorum* which was the most influential'.<sup>4</sup> The *Gesta Francorum* is a very short account of the First Crusade, almost certainly written by a participant who may well have been a layman, and was composed by 1105 at the very latest. It was used by other participants to create their own accounts of the crusade. Subsequently, the first generation of largely monastic

1 J. Harris, *Byzantium and the Crusades* (London, 2003), pp. 88–90.

2 R.J. Lilie, *Byzantium and the Crusader States* (Oxford, 1993); J. Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land: Relations between the Latin East and the West, 1119–87* (Oxford, 1996).

3 M. Angold, *The Fourth Crusade* (London, 2003), pp. 50–74.

4 Harris, *Byzantium and the Crusades*, p. 89; GF.

writers who retold the story used it as a basis for their efforts, and either directly or through them, the ‘*Gesta* story’, with many of its attitudes and idiosyncrasies, made its way into almost every chronicler of the twelfth century who gave an account of the First Crusade.<sup>5</sup> The anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum* was deeply hostile to Byzantium. He was a south Italian Norman, but it should not be assumed that all such people disliked Byzantium, because many of them took service with the Byzantines. Far more germane to this discussion is his very evident devotion to the person he refers to as ‘my lord Bohemond’.<sup>6</sup>

It has often been suggested that the *Gesta* was the straightforward and unsophisticated tale of a simple knight whose attitudes to high politics simply reflected those of his adored master, ‘my lord Bohemond’. More recently, scholars have begun to see in it a quite sophisticated and carefully written work, and it has been suggested that its main purpose and intention was to justify Bohemond.<sup>7</sup> There is no consensus as to how the *Gesta* came to be written in the form in which we have it. It is widely believed that it was used by Bohemond when he returned to the west in 1105 to raise troops for his ‘crusade’ against Byzantium which came to a sticky end in 1107.<sup>8</sup> Wolf suggests that it was written for this purpose from the first. However, it seems at least likely that the text of the *Gesta* as we have it is the product of a deliberate editing of a narrative of the First Crusade recast to show Bohemond in the best possible light. This is likely because the text which we have contains some evident *cruces*.<sup>9</sup>

The crucial part of the *Gesta* in respect of attitudes to Byzantium concerns the scene at Philomelium. The word ‘scene’ should be understood here in its theatrical meaning, because we are presented with what is clearly a careful construct. On the night of 3 June 1098, the crusaders broke into Antioch, which they had been besieging since October 1097. On 4 June, a great Muslim army under Kerbogah besieged the city and, shortly after, took possession of the citadel which the crusaders had failed to capture. The crusaders were, therefore, in desperate straits. Stephen of Blois had been chosen as leader of the crusade by this time, but he seems to have been ill when Antioch fell. When he recognized how hopeless the situation of the crusade had

5 See J. France, ‘The Use of the Anonymous *Gesta Francorum* in the Early Twelfth-century Sources for the First Crusade’, in *From Clermont to Jerusalem: The Crusades and Crusader Societies 1095–1500*, ed. A.V. Murray (Turnhout, 1998), pp. 29–42, and ‘The Anonymous *Gesta Francorum* and the *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem* of Raymond of Aguilars and the *Historia de hierosolymitano itinere* of Peter Tudebode: An Analysis of the Textual Relationship between Primary Sources for the First Crusade’, in *The Crusades and their Sources: Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton*, ed. J. France and W.G. Zajac (Aldershot, 1998), pp. 39–70.

6 *GF*, p. 7.

7 *Ibid.*, pp. xi–xvi; C. Morris, ‘The *Gesta Francorum* as Narrative History’, *Reading Medieval Studies* 19 (1993), pp. 55–71; K.B. Wolf, ‘Crusade and Narrative: Bohemond and the *Gesta Francorum*’, *Journal of Medieval History* 17 (1991), pp. 207–16.

8 Harris, *Byzantium and the Crusades*, p. 89.

9 See the two articles by France referred to in note 5 above.

become, he fled by sea, and encountered Alexius Comnenus at Philomelium about 20 June. The emperor was consolidating his control over western and central Anatolia, from which the crusaders had driven the Turks during their march to Antioch. It is very unlikely that he intended to march eastwards to the aid of the First Crusade.<sup>10</sup> However, in the 'Gesta story' Alexius appears to be *en route* to support the crusaders. This is not explicitly stated in the account of events at Philomelium, but the *Gesta*'s account of the arrangements between Alexius and the crusader leaders suggests that he had promised to do this.<sup>11</sup> Then Stephen tells his tale of woe, at which point the emperor resolves to return to Constantinople, evacuating the Christian population of the cities of Anatolia, who would otherwise have been exposed to the vengeance of the Turks. In the *Gesta*, this is a highly dramatic scene in which Guy, Bohemond's half-brother who was in Byzantine service, pleads for the emperor to go to relieve the crusaders in Antioch.<sup>12</sup> This long and dramatic 'set-piece' presents the Byzantine Emperor Alexius Comnenus as having betrayed the crusaders in their hour of need. Such a portrayal, of course, served to justify Bohemond's later seizure of Antioch in defiance of the oath all the leaders had sworn to the emperor at Constantinople to return any former lands of his empire which they captured.<sup>13</sup> It also justified Bohemond's crusade in 1107 against the Byzantine empire which was threatening his hold on Antioch.

It was probably because it was circulated as propaganda in France that the *Gesta* was available to so many monastic writers of that area who, in the early-twelfth century, used the Anonymous's text as a basis for their own accounts.<sup>14</sup> The mere repetition of the 'Gesta story' of the First Crusade by such writers as Robert the Monk, Guibert of Nogent and (later) William of Tyre gave authority to the sense that the First Crusade was anti-Byzantine, and this view was reinforced in the eyes of modern historians by other eyewitness accounts. Raymond of Aguilers was a Provençal and a chaplain of the count of Toulouse, writing before 1105, who made sparing use of the *Gesta* and certainly did not reproduce the Anonymous's version of events at Philomelium. However, he clearly despised the Byzantines, though it is difficult to say why. But the effect of his hostility has been to strengthen the impression created by the Anonymous. Fulcher of Chartres used the *Gesta* more heavily, partly because he had gone with Baldwin of Boulogne to Edessa in October 1097. His account is much less anti-Byzantine, perhaps because, as a servant of Baldwin I (1100–1118) and Baldwin II of Jerusalem (1118–31), he felt the need to be more diplomatic. He is very anxious to avoid blaming Stephen of Blois, with whom he had been associated, and is therefore very discreet about Philomelium.

10 For a full discussion of the circumstances, see J. France, *Victory in the East: A Military History of the First Crusade* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 299–302.

11 *GF*, p. 12.

12 *Ibid.*, pp. 63–5.

13 *Ibid.*

14 E.O. Blake, 'The Formation of the "Crusade Idea"', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 21 (1970), pp. 11–31.

Peter Tudebode was a Poitevin priest who also went on the crusade, but his chronicle virtually reproduces the text of the *Gesta*. The praise of Bohemond so characteristic of the Anonymous's work is somewhat muted, but his distinctive south Italian Norman standpoint is unmistakable.<sup>15</sup>

Because of the extraordinary influence of the *Gesta*, reinforced by Raymond of Aguilers, anti-Byzantine sentiment on the First Crusade has tended to be assumed by modern historians, although their acceptance of saints prominent in the Greek calendar seems odd in this context.<sup>16</sup> The attitudes expressed in letters sent by the crusaders are, of course, much more contemporary than those found in the chronicles which were written after the crusade had finished. Two letters, dating from the early stages of the siege of Antioch, from Adhemar of Le Puy, papal legate, and Symeon, patriarch of Jerusalem, then based in Cyprus, show ecclesiastical co-operation. Stephen of Blois's first letter to his wife shows real admiration for Alexius. By the time he wrote his second, at Easter 1098, Stephen had become the leader of the crusade, yet there is no hint of anti-Byzantine feeling, though historians have generally supposed that Tatikios's departure from the army in February 1098 would have aroused resentment. However, equivocal remarks – like Anselm of Ribemont's comment that some came away from meeting the emperor after the siege of Nicaea pleased, some not – have been seized upon to emphasize the negative, though Anselm, a leader of the second rank, is never hostile to the Greeks. One of the letters written by the crusaders is peculiarly important: that sent by the leaders to the pope in September 1098. They clearly knew about Philomelium by this time, and in the letter they denounced the Greeks as heretics whom they wished the pope to deal with. Now this letter is very curious; Hagenmeyer analysed it nearly a century ago, showing that the letter had been, in some sense, hijacked by Bohemond. Its essential anti-Greek sentiment, however, can hardly be contested. The letter of September 1098 was an extraordinarily violent reaction to the news of Philomelium. To condemn the Greeks as heretics after the earlier friendly relations between Adhemar and Symeon is astonishing. Further, the crusaders had only got into Antioch by conceding that Bohemond, who had found a traitor within, might have the city if the emperor failed to come to their support. After their victory over Kerbogah, the crusader leaders sent an embassy to Constantinople and delayed the crusade in order to give an imperial army plenty of time to arrive. Their evident rage against the Byzantines was a reaction to betrayal by an ally to whom, in their estimation, they had been remarkably faithful. Their letter has generally been interpreted as showing that Philomelium reinforced anti-Byzantine feelings, but the reality is that it created them. The letter portrays a kind of 'Jewish/Communist/Bolshevik composite' – the Greek heretic betrayer of the crusade – and this has passed into historical writing. This is interesting because Bohemond used these attitudes in a letter to Pope Paschal

15 For a fuller account of the influence of the *GF* and the relationship with other eyewitness sources, see the two articles by France referred to in note 5 above.

16 J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (London, 1986), p. 105.

II (1099–1118) urging him to give support to his anti-Byzantine ‘crusade’ of 1107, condemning the Greeks for their desertion of the crusade and their refusal to accept the primacy of the Holy See.<sup>17</sup>

The dependence on the *Gesta* clearly indicates that we need to beware of accepting anti-Byzantine comments picked up by twelfth-century sources from its tainted stream. Medieval chroniclers frequently used the works of others, and edited them so poorly that information and attitudes are often jumbled together. Therefore, when hostility to Byzantium shows through in passages selected from the *Gesta*, it should not be assumed that it was shared by the author. This, of course, strengthens Angold’s argument. But it also raises the important question as to how far the Anonymous or his editor could have been drawing upon existing attitudes to Byzantium. What do pre-crusade chronicles tell us about western attitudes to Byzantium? This is particularly interesting because we do have one account of the First Crusade which was in no way dependent on the *Gesta*. Albert of Aachen did not go on the crusade, though he probably drew his information from eyewitnesses. Albert is definitely *parti pris* in reporting the dispute between Alexius and Godfrey at Constantinople in 1096–97, but he was not generally anti-Byzantine. Albert’s account of Philomelium is quite sympathetic to the emperor, and he seems to be well informed because he makes the point that the crusader conquests in central Anatolia were abandoned in the Byzantine retreat. It is unfortunate that Albert’s account has not hitherto been very well known.<sup>18</sup> It is, in part, the attitudes in Albert’s account and the preponderance of the ‘*Gesta* story’ which have prompted this examination of western chronicles to assess whether hostility to Byzantium was a theme within them which the Anonymous, or his editor, chose to cultivate.

Chronicles are, of course, not the only sources for the history of the period before the First Crusade, but they are discursive works which, unlike charters for example, reveal attitudes and ideas as well as events. Moreover, the clerics who most commonly wrote them were not insulated from the wider world. The clergy can be regarded as the clerical branch of the European elite. The actors in the great dramas of politics and war were their relatives and friends, and often enough those who wrote chronicles were much more than mere observers of what they described. Naturally, they had their own idiosyncratic views, but they also shared in common attitudes. Thus war is almost always portrayed as an affair of the upper classes, and historians have found it difficult to arrive at balanced views of how armies worked. It is because chronicles reflect the views of the western elites that they are here examined in the age before the First Crusade. Theological sources are also discursive, but by contrast deal with issues which would be important to the clergy,

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17 For the letters, see H. Hagenmeyer, ed., *Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088–1100* (Innsbrück, 1901), pp. 138–40, 149–52, 144–6, 157–60, 141–2, 146–9, 161–5, and for Bohemond’s letter, W. Holtzmann, ‘Zur Geschichte des Investiturstreites’, *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 50 (1935), pp. 246–319.

18 A new edition and translation has been produced by Dr S.B. Edgington and is forthcoming from Oxford Medieval Texts.

but not to the elites as a whole. However, it is likely that this enquiry may later be extended to consider them. Chronicles and annals offer us some idea of what the elites of Catholic Christendom considered was important to them. This study has avoided Venetian writings because of their obvious interest in Byzantium, nor have distinctively papal sources been considered. The papacy of the eleventh century had a wide view of the world and a remarkable grasp of history which differentiated its outlook sharply from that of the generality of the European elites. Although the papacy did not control any state and enjoyed only a limited power over the provincial Churches, its historical memory and intellectual dynamism mean that its attitudes and interests were not those of the European elites who then represented 'public opinion'. This is not to say that the papacy was separate and distinct from the rest of Europe, merely to note that its knowledge of Byzantium was atypical. However, a substantial number of chronicles and annals dating from the period between c. 850 and before 1099 have been examined. A very few Spanish works earlier than 850 are discussed because of their special interest.

For the purposes of this analysis, the chronicles and annals have been divided conventionally into a number of groups: German and imperial, Spanish, West Frankish/French, Anglo-Norman and Italian and Roman (with south Italian Norman a subset). However, there are many ambiguities about such groupings. Should Italian writings be considered apart from imperial ones? At what point does a distinction between East and West Frankish sources apply? Therefore, the writings discussed here are considered only roughly within these categories.

On the whole, it is obvious that Italian and German writers who lived within the 'western empire' were much more interested in Byzantium than others. In Germany, there is a plethora of minor historical records, such as the Weissemburg and Hildesheim annals. But even these undeveloped works report, albeit briefly, some of the dealings between the eastern and western emperors.<sup>19</sup> The much earlier and more substantial *Annals of Fulda* also discuss diplomacy, but show clear indications of further knowledge when, under the year 896, they record the way the Greeks played off their Avar and Bulgar enemies.<sup>20</sup> Similarly, Regino of Prüm was aware of the penetration of the Orthodox Church amongst the Rus, and alludes to the conversion of the princess Olga in 959.<sup>21</sup> A century later, Adam of Bremen recorded the connections between Scandinavia and the Greek lands, noting, *inter alia*, that Harold Hardrada, half-brother of St Olaf the Martyr (1016–30), fled to Constantinople where he served the emperor against the Saracens.<sup>22</sup> Lambert of Hersfeld recounts one of the many legends of Robert the Frisian, who was received by the emperor at Constantinople

19 *Annales*, in *PL* 141, an. 960, 973, and ed. O. Holder-Egger (Hanover, 1894), an. 945, 948, 973, 978.

20 *Annales Fuldenses*, ed. F. Kurze (Hanover, 1909), trans. T. Reuter, *Annals of Fulda* (Manchester, 1991), an. 896.

21 Regino of Prüm, *Chronicon*, ed. F. Kurze (Hanover, 1890), an. 959.

22 Adam of Bremen, *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*, ed. B. Schmeidler (Hanover, 1917 and 1993), 3:13, and see also 2:22, 3:17, 3:22, 4:1, 4:10, 4:15, 4:16.

while pretending to be a pilgrim after he had lost the ships he was using for raiding.<sup>23</sup> There are occasional signs of hostility: for example, Widukind was contemptuous of the Greeks, but when he records the enemies Otto I defeated in the course of his reign, he does not list the Greeks amongst them.<sup>24</sup>

The most famous of the imperial historians who talk about Byzantium is Liudprand of Cremona. He was an Italian, and had an extensive knowledge of the eastern empire and of its interest in western affairs. His best-known work is the *Relatio de legatione Constantinopolitana*, in which he takes every opportunity to vilify the Greeks and their emperor. But this was a work of self-justification: Liudprand's diplomatic mission to Constantinople on behalf of his master, Otto I, had failed, and Liudprand needed to deflect blame from himself. By contrast, the *Antapodosis* is a much more measured work, recording his earlier embassy to Constantinople on behalf of Berengar of Italy and revealing substantial information about the Greeks, notably the Emperor Romanus's alliance with Hugh of Italy against the Saracens of Provence at Fraxenetum.<sup>25</sup> The range, sophistication and liveliness of Liudprand's writings make the entries in the German chronicles seem limited and dry, but they are not, in sum, without interest.

In practice, the German chronicles mention Byzantium very rarely, and almost always to record occasions when Byzantine diplomats made contact with the imperial court. The tone is only occasionally hostile, but the most obvious factor is that they deny the title of 'Roman emperor' to the ruler at Constantinople. The *Annals of St Bertin* for 853 refer to the 'emperor of Constantinople', a formulation taken up by Lambert of Hersfeld in the eleventh century. The annals of Flodoard for 867 and of Fulda for 872 mention the 'emperor of the Greeks'. Widukind in 968 uses the term 'king of Constantinople'. Regino of Prüm is unusual in 959 in referring to 'Romano imperatore Constantinopolo'.<sup>26</sup> This sensitivity is quite natural in German writers. For them, the Ottonians and Salians were the Roman emperors, heirs of Charlemagne, and they were highly sensitive to anything that could detract from their position. The Byzantines, of course, were convinced that theirs was the sole and true 'Roman empire', even if, at times, diplomacy required them to soft-pedal on the claim. These German formulations were a means of reconciling themselves to the existence of a rival claim, and of subtly devaluing it. Moreover, it was sometimes important to avoid giving offence. Thietmar of Merseburg was an important adviser to the German emperor, and he is painstakingly careful to refer to both the eastern and German rulers as emperors. As he would have been well aware, the German and Byzantine emperors needed to come to terms on occasion. However, only once does

23 Lambert of Hersfeld, *Annales*, ed. O. Holder-Egger (Hanover, 1894), an. 1090.

24 Widukind, *Rerum gestarum Saxoniarum libri tres*, ed. G. Waitz (Hanover, 1882), 3:72, 3:75.

25 Liudprand of Cremona, *Relatio de legatione Constantinopolitana*, ed. B. Scott (Bristol, 1993); *Antapodosis*, in *Opera omnia*, ed. P. Chiesa, CCCM 156 (Turnhout, 1998), bk 5, ch. 16.

26 Flodoard, *Historia Remensis*, PL 135, col. 867; for other editions, see notes 20, 21 and 24 above.

he imply absolute equality between the empires of east and west, in the story of Otto II's escape in a Byzantine ship from the defeat at Capo Colonne, when he tells us that when speaking to the captain, Otto referred to 'your emperor, my brother'. However, Thietmar also records that Otto was very anxious to escape from the Byzantine ship and killed some of its crew, which suggests that this was mere flattery, covering distrust.<sup>27</sup> There is also a sense that the German rulers felt they needed recognition of their imperial title from Constantinople, and this may explain the constant flow of ambassadors between the two courts. Of course, no German writer could admit this, but the annals of Fulda and of St Bertin for 876 both record as significant that Charles the Bald wore Greek dress, apparently as a token of his assumption of the empire.<sup>28</sup> Such was the prestige of Byzantium that its very existence forced the supporters of the German empire to circumlocution. Indeed, the 'Life of Henry II' (1002–1024) carefully avoids mention of Constantinople, noting only that the emperor 'recovered Apulia, so long held by the Greeks, for the Roman empire'.<sup>29</sup> The 'Life of Henry IV' none too subtly downgrades the status of the ruler at Constantinople, who is merely 'rex Greciae'.<sup>30</sup>

An Italian writer of the later tenth century, Benedict of Monte Soracte, chose to reflect on the question of imperial titles and produced a rationalization of western attitudes. Benedict wrote a chronicle, but he also composed a little tract entitled *De imperatoria potestate in urbe Roma libellus*. This is a rather crude tract, but the substance of his argument is that in the beginning Rome was alone and supreme, until the seat of empire was translated to Constantinople, the New Rome, leaving Old Rome to be ruled by princes subject to the emperors. But under Pope Silverius (536–37), the Lombards invaded Italy and the Greeks fled. As a result, the empire ceased at Rome until the Franks came, though there was a period when the dukes of Spoleto ruled. Then Pope Zachary called in Charlemagne and began a line of emperors which failed with the death of Charles the Fat. This is a rather odd perspective on Roman history, but the general thrust is clear: that possession of Rome is the mark of an emperor.<sup>31</sup> Hence, in his chronicle, it is perfectly logical that the Greeks cease to be true Roman emperors after they abandon Rome, and he calls their ruler 'imperator Grecorum'.<sup>32</sup> Benedict was not advancing a new idea, merely articulating what was, in effect, a contemporary platitude and providing it with some kind of justification and history. The title which he advances for the Greek rulers, and some variations,

27 Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chronicon*, ed. R. Holtzmann (Hanover, 1935), trans. D.A. Warner, *Ottoman Germany: The Chronicle of Thietmar of Merseburg* (Manchester, 2001), bk 3, chs 21–2.

28 *Ann. Fuld.* an. 876; *Annales Bertiniani*, ed. F. Grat and L. Levillain (Paris, 1964), trans. J.L. Nelson (Manchester, 1991), an. 876.

29 Adelbert, *Vita sancti Heinrici regis et confessoris*, ed. M. Stumpf (Hanover, 1999), 9:19.

30 *Vita Heinrici imperatoris*, ed. W. Eberhard (Hanover, 1899), ch. 1.

31 On the ultimate derivation of such ideas, see H.E.J. Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII* (Oxford, 1998), p. 481.

32 Benedict of Monte Soracte (of St Andrea), *Chronicon*, *PL* 139, cols 9–59.

were already established, and in one form or another had become a consensus, even beyond the German and imperial lands.

The Norman William of Jumièges, writing of 1035, simply describes the ruler at Constantinople as 'emperor' without any elaboration. The author of the *Life of Pope Leo IX* uses the time-honoured formulation 'emperor of Constantinople', whilst at the very end of the eleventh century the chronicler of Monte Cassino, Leo Marsicanus, speaks of the 'imperatorem Constantinopolim', as does his fellow south Italian, Amatus of Monte Cassino, who speaks of the 'empéreour de Costentinoble'. The Aquitanian chronicler, Adhemar of Chabannes, is particularly interesting. He describes Otto I as 'Roman emperor', whilst the Byzantine ruler, Nicephorus Phocas, is 'emperor of Constantinople'.<sup>33</sup> But it would be wrong to think that western chroniclers were obsessed by the issue of legitimacy and equality between the empires of east and west. There was relatively little hostility towards or interest in the Greeks, whilst the ecclesiastical dispute over the position of the papacy and the eastern churches excited little comment and engendered no real hatred.

Adhemar of Chabannes was very interested in the doings of the Greeks, and tells a number of lively stories. His account of the death of Nicephorus Phocas is full of fantasy, whilst his belief that Basil II became a monk at the end of his life may be a distortion of the emperor's personal austerity. He knew that there were Russians in the army which Basil sent to Italy, even though it is not clear whether he believes this was commanded by Basil II in person or his general, Basil Bojoannes.<sup>34</sup> Adhemar's Burgundian contemporary, Rodulfus Glaber, was no less interested, though his work is unusual in that there is a strong note of hostility to the Greeks. This was largely because Glaber disliked anybody outside the authority of the Holy See.<sup>35</sup> He was particularly incensed by what he regarded as an attempt by Constantinople to compromise the universal authority of the Roman pontiff. Elsewhere he suggests that the accession of Michael the Paphlagonian was arranged by the devil. He describes Basil II as emperor 'who ruled the holy empire of Constantinople', but the title Roman is reserved for western emperors like Otto III.<sup>36</sup> Taken together, the range of stories told by Adhemar and Rodulfus suggests that there was a good deal of knowledge of Byzantium, albeit some not very reliable, available in the west. This makes the relative silence of the chronicles surprising. Even the German sources

33 William of Jumièges, *Gesta Normannorum ducum*, ed. E.M.C. van Houts, 2 vols (Oxford, 1992–5), vol. 2, bk 6, ch. 11; *The Life of Pope Leo IX*, in *The Papal Reform of the Eleventh Century: Lives of Pope Leo IX and Pope Gregory VII*, vol. 1, ed. S. Robinson (Manchester, 2004), pp. 97–157; Leo Marsicanus, *Chronica monasterii Casinensis*, PL 173, col. 663; Amatus of Monte Cassino, *L'Ystoire de li Normant*, ed. M. Champollion-Figeac (Paris, 1835), bk 2, ch. 8; Adémar of Chabannes, *Chronicon*, ed. P. Bourgoin, R. Landes and G. Pon, CCCM 129 (Turnhout, 1999), bk 3, ch. 62.

34 Adémar, *Chronicon*, bk 3, chs 22, 32, 55.

35 Rodulfus Glaber, *Historiarum libri quinque in Opera*, ed. J. France (Oxford, 1989); J. France, 'War and Christendom in the Thought of Rodulfus Glaber', *Studia Monastica* 30 (1988), pp. 105–21.

36 Glaber, bk 4, chs 2, 5, bk 3, ch. 2, bk 1, ch. 16.

already noted confine themselves, with very few exceptions, to very formal reports of embassies. Flodoard continued the Reims annals into the tenth century, but whilst he reproduces much about the ninth-century ecclesiastical controversies concerning the 'Photian Schism' and the Iconoclast dispute described in them, and adds that under Pope Formosus (891–96) the Greeks were in schism, he says virtually nothing else about Byzantium.<sup>37</sup> The tradition of the Reims annals was continued by Richer, whose work extends down to the very end of the tenth century, but he never mentions Byzantium or its emperors. There is a similar silence in the chronicles of Sens, notably that of Odorannus, and those of Roricus of Moissac and Aimo of Fleury, whilst the famous *Miracula Sancti Benedicti* does not mention either the Greeks or their emperor.<sup>38</sup>

When we turn to the Anglo-Norman chroniclers, we find a similar near-silence. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle has only rare references to the Greeks, whilst for Dudo of St Quentin they and others constitute a *topos* for remote peoples, though he was aware of their part in the siege of Troy. William of Poitiers suggests that the Byzantine empire was a source of prestige: the nobles of Flanders are exalted because they are said to be related to those of Constantinople, whilst he claims that Constantinople wanted William of Normandy's aid against Islam. But the dominant theme is his pride in the Normans as a people who even, he reports, attacked Constantinople. Even so, the sense that to be a friend of Constantinople is a sign of distinction is very evident. William of Jumièges shares this pride in the 'Norman race', and records the subjection of the Greeks to the Normans in Italy, and the betrothal of Guiscard's daughter to a son of Michael VII.<sup>39</sup> Clearly, the Norman conquest of south Italy had an impact upon these Anglo-Norman writers of the later eleventh century.

In northern Italy, Landulf Senior was as uninterested in Byzantium as any of the north European writers. His *Historia Mediolanensis* mentions Byzantium only when Milan is directly concerned, as by the mission of its archbishop, Arnulf II, to Constantinople under Otto III. His indifference is in marked contrast to the concern of Benedict of Monte Soracte a century before.<sup>40</sup> The south Italian material reveals

37 Flodoard, cols 189, 252, 259, 276, 281, 295, 307, 308, 310, 372.

38 *Chronicon Sancti Petri Vivi Senonensis*, ed. R.H. Bautier and M. Gilles (Paris, 1979); *Miracula Sancti Benedicti*, ed. E. De Certain (Paris, 1858 and New York, 1968); Aimo of Fleury, *Historia Francorum*, in *PL* 139, col. 637; Roricus of Moissac, *Gesta Francorum*, in *PL* 139, cols 589–616. Moissac is known to have had close contacts with the east, on which see A. Gieysztor, 'The Genesis of the Crusades: the Encyclical of Sergius IV (1009–12)', *Medievalia et Humanistica* 6 (1950), pp. 13–45.

39 *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. D. Whitelock and D.C. Douglas (London, 1961), an. 982, 1052; Dudo of St Quentin, *De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum*, ed. J. Lair (Caen, 1865–72), trans. E. Christiansen, *History of the Normans* (Woodbridge, 1998), Preface, bk 1, ch. 3; William of Poitiers, *Gesta Guillelmi ducis Normannorum et regis Anglorum*, ed. R. Foreville (Paris, 1952), pp. 46–7, 144–5, 228–9; William of Jumièges, bk 6, ch. 11, bk 7, chs 9, 29, 30, 43.

40 Landulf Senior, *Historia Mediolanensis*, ed. A. Cutolo (Bologna, 1942–68), pp. 51–2; see note 32 above.

much more interest in Byzantium, which is hardly surprising. There are many short annals which recount the course of events, but they do not give any real indication of attitudes.<sup>41</sup> Lupus Protospatarius provides a very valuable history based upon earlier annals, which furnished him with much information on the Catapans and their masters. He is very careful to note the arrivals of the Guiscardian family, and shows considerable knowledge of Byzantium. His attitude towards the Byzantines is neutral. But there is a substantial Norman literature from southern Italy, and its attitudes are very different. Amatus of Monte Cassino wrote in the 1080s. Looking back with hindsight, he saw the Normans as destined by God to replace the Greeks. He is informed about events in Byzantium and clearly saw the Greeks as an enemy, but without any special fervour, and he does not disguise Abbot Desiderius's anti-Norman mission to Constantinople under Stephen IX (1057–58). Leo Marsicani wrote a history of Monte Cassino in the very early twelfth century, and unlike Amatus, has a detailed account of the Cerularian schism, but this does not particularly colour his attitude to Byzantium, though he clearly despises the Greeks and the 'imperatorem Constantinopolim'.<sup>42</sup> Between 1095 and 1099, William of Apulia produced a Latin poem, the *Gesta Roberti Wiscardi*. He was associated with Roger Borsa, Guiscard's successor on the mainland of South Italy. His work favours Guiscard and his family against their Byzantine enemies, but he is well informed about the Byzantine court and its politics. Most interestingly, despite the evident disdain for the Greeks, the issue of the 'Cerularian schism' is not aired and the charge of schismatic never levelled against them. It is likely that the author was closely connected with Urban II.<sup>43</sup> Malaterra wrote his *De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae comitis et Roberti Guiscardi ducis fratris eius* at the very end of the eleventh century, at the request of Roger of Sicily. He was expressly told by Roger to be frank about the brutality and savagery of the Normans in their early years, and quite obviously espouses their cause against the Byzantines, but again his hostility is somewhat muted and there is none of the religious hatred on which Bohemond later tried to capitalize.<sup>44</sup> In fact, these Norman chronicles of the late eleventh century, well-informed about Byzantium though they are, share a common emphasis on the providential replacement of the Greeks by the Normans in Italy.<sup>45</sup> Perhaps the precarious nature of Guiscardian rule in southern Italy led them to emphasize the positive, for in one way or another the authors were mostly in the grasp of the ruling family. There is no real effort to justify the defeat of Greeks in terms of the schism – there is simply no evidence of religious hatred. In

41 Amongst others can be noted *Annales Cavenses* and *Beneventani*, in *MGH SS* 3.185–97, 177; *Annales Barenses* 605–1043, *PL* 155, cols 123–31.

42 Leo Marsicani, *Chronica monasterii Casinensis*, *PL* 173, cols 690–91, 663.

43 William of Apulia, *La Geste de Robert Guiscard*, ed. M. Mathieu (Palermo, 1961), pp. 11–24.

44 Gaufredus Malaterra, *De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae comitis et Roberti Guiscardi ducis fratris eius*, ed. E. Pontieri, in Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* 5 (Bologna, 1928), p. 25.

45 This theme is emphasized by Mathieu in *La Geste de Robert Guiscard*, p. 11.

northern Europe, only Lambert of Hersfeld mentions the schism, and then in clearly fabulous terms.<sup>46</sup>

But the south Italian chronicles are exceptional in their interest in and knowledge of Byzantium, and the general picture is of indifference to the eastern empire. Silence rather than hatred is the norm, and this is broken only by a few, and then only occasionally. In the case of imperial writers, there is a considerable concern with the status of the German emperor, and therefore with that of the Byzantine emperor. But entries are brief and confined to issues of recognition, sometimes related to arrangements for marriages between the imperial clans: the marriage between the later Otto II and the princess Theophano attracted comment in virtually all the imperial sources. There are pointers as to why there is this silence in the Spanish chronicles.

One of the earliest Spanish Christian chronicles of the Arab period is the *Chronicle of 741*. This records very little about Spain, and is a digest of Greek chronicles of the early medieval period. As a result of Justinian's western reconquest in the sixth century, the Byzantines held much territory in Spain into the period of the Arab conquest, and the *Chronicle of 741* reflects this close connection.<sup>47</sup> A similar relationship was felt by the author of the *Chronicle of 754*, who portrays the fates of Byzantium and Spain as intertwined by their common experience of subjugation to Islam. He dates events by the regnals of the emperor at Constantinople. He is thought to have been a Christian in the service of the Arab conquerors, and knew a lot about events in the caliphate, providing a description of the Abbasid coup which overthrew the Omayyads.<sup>48</sup> But the connection with Byzantium had quite evidently worn thin by the time *The Chronicle of Alfonso III* was written under Alfonso III (866–910). The only reference to the eastern empire is the story of Ardabastus, who had fled from Constantinople to the court of King Wamba (672–80), against whom he later conspired. This must have been derived by the chronicler from an older source, but he never speaks of the Greeks and their empire in his more contemporary writing, which reflected high confidence in the coming reconquest of al-Andalus.<sup>49</sup> By the time that the *Historia Silense* was written in the eleventh century, Byzantium no longer mattered much to the elites of the Spanish Christian kingdoms. The author mentions Constantine the Great very briefly in a passage drawn from Isidore of Seville. Later, he recounts the story of a Greek pilgrim to St James of Compostella

46 Lambert, *Annales*, ed. Holder-Egger, pp. 64–5.

47 'Chronicle of 741', ed. J. Gil, 2 vols, *Corpus Scriptorum Muzarabicorum*, 2.7–14, trans. as 'The Byzantine-Arab Chronicle of 741', in *Seeing Islam as Others Saw it: A Survey and Evaluation of Christian, Jewish and Zoroastrian Writings on Early Islam*, ed. R.G. Hoyland (Princeton, NJ, 1997), pp. 611–27.

48 'Chronicle of 754': *Crónica mozárabe de 754*, ed. E. López Pereira (Zaragoza, 1980), trans. as 'Chronicle of 754', in *Conquerors and Chroniclers of Early Medieval Spain*, ed. K.B. Wolf (Liverpool, 1990), pp. 111–60.

49 'Chronicle of Alfonso III', in *Crónicas Asturianas*, ed. J.G. Fernández et al. (Oviedo, 1985), trans. as 'Chronicle of 754', in *Conquerors and Chroniclers of Early Medieval Spain*, pp. 161–78.

who declared that St James had never been a soldier, only to be proved wrong by a vision foretelling the conquest of Coimbra in 1064 by Fernando I (1037–65).<sup>50</sup> Quite evidently, Byzantium had ceased to be a factor in the affairs of the Spanish kingdoms after the Islamic conquest. Other things were of much more concern to their elites, and the chroniclers reflect this.

This is the pattern we see in the attitudes of the generality of western chronicles towards Byzantium. There had been a drift apart, into different spheres of interest, and whilst there was no real theological hatred, there was simply indifference. This is the message to be derived from the silence of the western chroniclers. Of course, it cannot be claimed that there were no connections between east and west on the eve of the First Crusade. Urban II cultivated Alexius I Comnenus (1080–1118) precisely because he feared the emperor might intervene against him in the 'Investiture Contest'. Moreover, the story of the Greek pilgrim in the *Historia Silense* and snippets of information provided by other writers point to other kinds of connections. *The Chronicle of Alfonso III* remarks on the building activities of Ramiro I (842–50), and it is worth noting the Byzantine style of his magnificent palace at Naranco.<sup>51</sup> But in general, Byzantium had simply ceased to be of great interest to the elites of the west, except at particular moments. There was no hostility between Byzantium and the west, and the 'Cerularian Schism' of 1054 seems to have had a minimal impact, even on those few who knew about it. It is in the light of this that we should seek to understand the relations between Alexius and the crusader leaders, and the course of their subsequent relationship. It was only when they learned of Philomelium that real hostility to Alexius emerged. For a time this poisoned relations between east and west, and Bohemond, who had gained immense prestige from the First Crusade, attempted to capitalize on the resulting hostility. After his failure, however, relations normalized, though with some moments of tension and others of accommodation. It is unlikely that the leaders of the First Crusade ever felt much 'Christian fraternity' towards the Greeks, who must have seemed very alien to them. But they acknowledged a community of religious interest and a common unity against Islam. This was broken, for a time at least, when they became aware of events at Philomelium, at which point they gave vent to their feelings in the letter to Urban II of 11 September 1098. One consequence was that Antioch became, from time to time, a bone of contention between east and west.<sup>52</sup>

This paper suggests that there is little evidence of hostility to Byzantium in western Christendom before the First Crusade. In particular, there does not appear to have been any religious hatred, and the 'Schism of Cerularius' of 1054 seems not to have made any substantial impact upon the consciousness of the European elites. There was no reason why it should. Byzantium and the west had drifted apart

50 *Historia Silense*, in *The World of El Cid*, ed. S. Barton and R. Fletcher (Manchester, 2000), chs 2, 89.

51 'Chronicle of Alfonso III', in *Crónicas Asturianas*, ed. Fernández et al., ch. 24.

52 J. France, 'The Normans and Crusading', in *The Normans and their Adversaries at War*, ed. R.P. Abels and B.S. Bachrach (Woodbridge, 2001), pp. 87–101.

into separate spheres of interest, and the elites of the fragmented west had their own local concerns. Urban II's crusade brought east and west suddenly and sharply together. Undoubtedly, Urban hoped to create a new climate of friendship which would attract the Greek Church back into the Roman obedience, though few laymen would have known that it had ever left. In the event, this intimacy of strangers, hitherto separated and alien cultures, generated contention, particularly over the issue of Antioch. This dispute created a sour note even at the moment of triumph in 1099, but its impact should not be exaggerated, for as early as September 1099 the returning crusaders refused to allow Bohemond to attack Greek Laodicea, and the Emperor Alexius seems to have been helpful to them all on their return.<sup>53</sup> The version of events peddled in the *Gesta Francorum* capitalized upon the reputation Bohemond had acquired during the crusade, but the hostility to Byzantium which was being preached was something new to Europeans.

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53 Hagenmeyer, ed., *Kreuzzugsbriefe*, pp. 168–74.

## Chapter 2

# Knowing the Enemy: Latin Relations with Islam at the Time of the First Crusade

Thomas S. Asbridge<sup>1</sup>

This essay will attempt to shed further light upon the nature and tenor of relations between the Latin Christian participants of the First Crusade and the Near Eastern Muslims they encountered on the way to Jerusalem. The First Crusade is easily and often misrepresented in popular and even academic imagination as an expedition in which Christendom and Islam were pitted against one another as immutable enemies. The notion that the First Crusaders harboured an overwhelming sense of hatred for Muslims when they unleashed their unique brand of piety and brutality upon the eastern Mediterranean does have some grounding in primary evidence. It can most readily be traced to the propaganda circulated at the time of the expedition's genesis and to the reconfiguration of the crusade's history in the narrative accounts written in the decades that followed the fall of Jerusalem.

The surviving evidence does not allow us to precisely reconstruct the ideas and imagery used by Pope Urban II and the Latin clergy to promote the First Crusade in 1095 and 1096. We do know that Urban was already, in December 1095, describing the 'barbaric fury' of Muslims who abused eastern Christians and who subjected

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<sup>1</sup> I would like to offer this article as a small token of my immense gratitude to Malcolm Barber for his unwavering support throughout my academic career, and in particular for the extensive assistance he gave me during the researching and writing of my recent book on the First Crusade. This article is, of course, not the first work to address issues of Latin–Muslim relations at the time of the crusade. Perhaps most notable in the field is M.A. Köhler, *Allianzen und Verträge zwischen fränkischen und islamischen Herrschern im Vorderen Orient* (Berlin, 1991), pp. 1–72, on which more below. H. Dajani-Shakeel, 'Diplomatic Relations between Muslim and Frankish Rulers, 1097–1153 A.D.', in *Crusaders and Muslims in Twelfth-Century Syria*, ed. M. Shatzmiller (Leiden, 1993), pp. 190–215, also explored this issue, but suffers from an over-reliance upon secondary sources and the testimony of William of Tyre, to the exclusion of contemporary Latin eyewitness accounts. In addition, see J. Gauss, 'Toleranz und Intoleranz zwischen Christen und Muslimen in der Zeit vor den Kreuzzügen', *Saeculum* 19 (1968), pp. 362–89; Y. Katzir, 'The Conquests of Jerusalem, 1099 and 1187: Historical Memory and Religious Typology', in *The Meeting of Two Worlds: Cultural Exchange between East and West in the Period of the Crusades*, ed. V.P. Goss (Kalamazoo, MI, 1986), pp. 103–13.

Jerusalem to ‘intolerable servitude’. The ‘savagery of the Saracens’ was a theme to which he returned in his extant correspondence from 1096.<sup>2</sup> This lends some credence to the polemical versions of Urban’s momentous sermon at Clermont that were recorded in the first decade of the twelfth century. According to Guibert of Nogent, the pope stated that Muslims were systematically torturing Christian pilgrims to the Holy Land, whilst Robert the Monk – who produced what appears to have been the most widely disseminated account of the crusade in the whole of the Middle Ages – had Urban describe the followers of Islam as ‘a people absolutely alien to God [who had] invaded the land of Christians [and had] reduced the people with sword, rapine and flame’. In Robert’s text, the pope set out to inflame the hearts of his audience with graphic descriptions of Muslim atrocities: the defilement of Christian altars with the blood from circumcisions, the gruesome ritualized disembowelment of Christians, and the ‘violation’ of women.<sup>3</sup> If western Europe was indeed bombarded with this type of vitriolic imagery, what impact did this have on the ideas and actions of the people who answered Urban’s call to arms? J.T. Gilchrist has convincingly argued that the papal prerogative of defining who were the enemies of Christ lent weight to Urban’s defamation of Islam, whilst R. Hill maintained that the crusaders were conditioned to be antagonistic to Muslims.<sup>4</sup> How then did those who took the cross and actually had to prosecute the expedition to retake the Holy Land deal with the reality of Islam?

This question can be approached in a number of ways. There is, for example, an ongoing and important debate about the degree and extremity of violence perpetrated by the First Crusaders against their Muslim enemies.<sup>5</sup> I propose here, however, to focus my attention on those instances of Latin–Muslim interaction which relate in one way or another to negotiation or diplomacy. It might be best to first identify whether or not the crusaders were subject to any mitigating factors – considerations that might have served to defuse the papacy’s polemical propaganda. Some crusaders

2 H. Hagenmeyer, ed., *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088-1100* (Innsbrück, 1901), p. 136; ‘Papsturkunden in Florenz’, ed. W. Wiederhold, *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, Phil.-hist. Kl. (Göttingen, 1901), pp. 313–14.

3 Guibert of Nogent, *Dei Gesta per Francos*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, CCCM 127A (Turnhout, 1996), pp. 111–17; Robert the Monk, ‘Historia Iherosolimitana’, *RHC Oc.* 3.727–8.

4 J.T. Gilchrist, ‘The Papacy and the War against the “Saracens”, 795–1216’, *International History Review* 10 (1988), p. 186; R. Hill, ‘The Christian View of the Muslims at the Time of the First Crusade,’ in *The Eastern Mediterranean Lands in the Period of the Crusades*, ed. P.M. Holt (Warminster, 1977), p. 3. See also M. Bennett, ‘First Crusaders’ Images of Muslims: The Influence of Vernacular Poetry?’, *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 22 (1986), pp. 101–22; J. Flori, ‘La Caricature de l’Islam dans l’Occident médiéval. Origine et signification de quelques stéréotypes concernant l’Islam’, *Aevum* 66 (1992), pp. 245–56.

5 J. France, *Victory in the East: A Military History of the First Crusade* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 26–51, 355–6; T.S. Asbridge, *The First Crusade: A New History* (London, 2004), p. 337.

were, of course, familiar with Islam. Bohemond of Taranto and Tancred of Hauteville had certainly had contact with Muslims in southern Italy and the Balkans, and it was said that Tancred could speak Arabic. Later twelfth-century traditions and legends suggest that Raymond of Toulouse also had extensive experience in this field – either through fighting against the Moors of Iberia in the 1080s, or by completing a pilgrimage to Jerusalem before 1095 – but these stories cannot be reliably verified.<sup>6</sup>

The crusaders did receive an education in the realities of Near Eastern Islam and eastern Mediterranean politics from the Byzantines. The Greek Emperor Alexios I Comnenos explained Turkish battle tactics to the crusader princes and advised them to exploit the political divisions afflicting Islam, probably by pursuing diplomatic contact with the Shi'ite Muslims of the Fatimid caliphate of Egypt. Perhaps even more importantly, the crusaders must have been closely counselled by their Byzantine guides, including Tatikios, during their advance across Asia Minor and in the early stages of the siege of Antioch.<sup>7</sup> The Franks cannot, therefore, have entered the Muslim world with an entirely brutalized or monochromatic conception of Islam. And over time they appear to have developed a relatively nuanced understanding of some elements of their enemy's make-up. It would be wrong, for example, to imagine that the crusaders were universally incapable of distinguishing between the various ethnic and religious groupings within Near Eastern Islam. Already in March 1098, Stephen of Blois made a relatively accurate attempt to classify different Islamic groups.<sup>8</sup> The Franks' encounters with Islam were not, therefore, solely conditioned by blank ignorance or by what we might today term 'racial stereotyping'. Indeed, there is strong evidence to suggest that the First Crusaders embraced the exigencies of *Realpolitik* in their dealings with Muslims between 1097 and 1099.

The highest-profile example of diplomatic contact with Muslims during the First Crusade occurred early in 1098, in the midst of the protracted siege of Antioch. On or some time before 9 February 1098, ambassadors arrived by ship from the *de facto* ruler of Fatimid Egypt, the vizier al-Afdal. They came to explore the possibility of some form of negotiated settlement with the First Crusaders. This embassy has been noted by a number of modern historians of the crusade, but deserves some re-examination.<sup>9</sup> The Fatimids' visit was neither fleeting nor secretive. The Shi'ite ambassadors remained in the crusaders' camp for at least a month, witnessing the Frankish victory over the forces of Ridwan of Aleppo on 9 February and the

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., pp. 44–5, 57–64. Dajani-Shakeel, 'Diplomatic Relations between Muslim and Frankish Rulers', pp. 194–5, wrongly attributes the oriental experiences of Count Robert I of Flanders to his son and heir, the First Crusader Robert II of Flanders.

<sup>7</sup> Anna Comnena, *Alexiade*, ed. and trans. B. Leib, 3 vols (Paris, 1937–76), 2.230, 2.234.

<sup>8</sup> Hagenmeyer, ed., *Kreuzzugsbriefe*, p. 150.

<sup>9</sup> France, *Victory in the East*, pp. 251–3; S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3 vols (Cambridge, 1951–54), vol. 1; Dajani-Shakeel, 'Diplomatic Relations between Muslim and Frankish Rulers', pp. 192–6. Köhler, *Allianzen und Verträge*, pp. 56–69, argues for a strong Byzantine influence over the progress of these negotiations, but this thesis seems to lack a clear basis in evidence.

successful naval re-supply of the crusader siege c. 10 March. Their presence must have been common knowledge within the Frankish host because it is so widely reported by Latin eyewitness sources, but it seems to have occasioned little, if any, criticism. Indeed, Stephen of Blois showed no embarrassment when writing to his wife that the Fatimids had 'established peace and concord with us'. The equitable nature of this Latin–Muslim interaction was not necessarily predicated upon Fatimid promises of conversion to Christianity, because none of the Latin eyewitnesses mention this. Only Raymond of Aguilers carries any hint that religious difference was an issue, noting as he did that the ambassadors 'praised Jesus' and recounted al-Afdal's kindness to Egyptian Christians and Latin pilgrims. It is only in later narrative accounts, such as that of Guibert of Nogent, that we hear of the Fatimids making 'false promises' of conversion. William of Tyre, writing in the later twelfth century, looked back on the negotiations with the Fatimids with relative equanimity, but made it clear that this contact ultimately concluded with the military defeat of these Egyptian Muslims.

In 1098, the crusaders seem to have been more interested in impressing their own martial prowess and fortitude upon their Egyptian visitors, rather than persuading them to apostatize. They twice offered them the heads of slain Sunni Muslims – reportedly up to 100 on one occasion – as gruesome evidence of their successes in northern Syria. In spite of Stephen of Blois's assertion, it seems quite likely that no definitive agreement was forged between the crusaders and Fatimids at Antioch. Negotiations certainly appear to have been ongoing, and Raymond of Aguilers recorded that the ambassadors only made promises of 'friendship and favourable treatment', and that in the interest of pursuing such an entente, Latin envoys were sent back to Egypt with them, charged with 'entering into a friendly pact'.<sup>10</sup>

Raymond of Aguilers went on to relate that, one year later, these crusader emissaries rejoined the expedition at the siege of 'Arqa, now in the company of another Fatimid representative. Even though the Frankish envoys had apparently been held as captives by al-Afdal, the crusade leaders were still willing to negotiate because the vizier was as yet undecided whether to ally with the Latins or the Turks. The deal the crusaders offered was this: in exchange for either the return of Jerusalem or help in securing its capture, they would return to al-Afdal all former Fatimid territory recaptured from the Seljuqs and agree to equally divide all other Seljuq conquests made with Egyptian aid. These relatively generous terms were eventually

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10 Hagenmeyer, ed., *Kreuzzugsbriefe*, p. 151; *GF*, pp. 37–8, 42; Raymond of Aguilers, *Le 'Liber' de Raymond d'Aguilers*, ed. J.H. Hill and L.L. Hill (Paris, 1969), p. 58; Guibert of Nogent, *Dei Gesta per Francos*, p. 189; WT pp. 267–8. 'Historia Belli Sacri', *RHC* Oc. 3.181, suggests that the crusaders had already sent an embassy to Egypt from Nicaea on the advice of Alexios Comnenos. AA, bk 3, chs 59, 63, bk 5, ch. 46, believed that a binding treaty was agreed at Antioch and criticized the Fatimids for breaking its terms. Given that S.B. Edgington's definitive edition of Albert's *Historia* will be published shortly by Oxford Medieval Texts, I have cited all references to Albert's account by book and chapter so that the new version can be consulted. I am, as always, very grateful to Dr Edgington for allowing me access to this work in advance of publication.

rejected and diplomatic initiatives with the Fatimids ultimately faltered. But, even though all the details of Raymond of Aguilers' testimony cannot necessarily be taken at face value, he must at least have believed that such a deal with Egyptian Muslims would have been conceivable to his audience.<sup>11</sup>

I have already argued that some crusaders were capable of differentiating between different groups of Muslims. Would it, therefore, be logical to suggest that the Franks arrived in the east with a polarized view of Sunni Seljuq Turks, but were more open-minded towards establishing political contact with Shi'ite Fatimids – that in effect they viewed one group as a natural enemy, and the other as a potential ally? The Seljuqs were after all the chief architects of recent Muslim aggression against Byzantium, and the possessors of Jerusalem at the time of Pope Urban's preaching of the crusade.

In reality, however, the evidence does not support any suggestion that the Latins operated under one rule of engagement with the Seljuqs and another with the Fatimids. Indeed, the Mosuli historian Ibn al-Athir, admittedly writing in the early thirteenth century, maintained that the First Crusaders had also sought to negotiate truces with the Muslim rulers of Aleppo and Damascus. The Franks had apparently dispatched letters stating that 'they had no interest in any cities save those that had once been Byzantine'. Ibn al-Athir characterized this as a deceitful ploy designed to dissuade Ridwan of Aleppo and Duqaq of Damascus from coming to the aid of Antioch, but if true, this episode would indicate that the crusaders were willing to use diplomatic negotiation with Seljuq Turks as a major tool in pursuit of their campaign goals.<sup>12</sup>

A range of other evidence would seem to support this thesis. In September 1098, Godfrey of Bouillon established a relationship with the Muslims of 'Azaz. This town, a dependency of Aleppo, was ruled by a Seljuq Turkish Sunni Muslim named Omar. He seems to have viewed the advent of the First Crusade as an opportunity to assert his independence from Aleppo and sought to form a military and political alliance with Godfrey. According to Albert of Aachen, this pact was initially negotiated by a Syrian Christian envoy dispatched by Omar to Antioch, but it was later confirmed in a public ceremony in which Godfrey received Omar's oath of fidelity, forging 'a renewed treaty and an unbreakable friendship'. This relationship was further cemented by the exchange of lavish gifts and the provision of Omar's son, Muhammad, as a hostage. This was certainly not a partnership of equals; Omar was willing to subordinate himself as a client ruler to Godfrey in return for military aid – aid that was forthcoming when the duke led crusader forces to relieve the Aleppan siege of 'Azaz – but, at least as far as Albert of Aachen was concerned, this pact implied a reciprocal martial alliance in which 'weapons [were] to be shared in any emergency of war'. Of course, Albert was not an eyewitness to these events and he wrote some years after the end of the crusade (probably composing this section of

<sup>11</sup> Raymond of Aguilers, *Le 'Liber'*, pp. 109–10; Ekkehard of Aura, 'Hierosolymita', *RHC Oc.* 5.171–2; 'Historia Belli Sacri', pp. 189–90, 212–15; France, *Victory in the East*, pp. 325–6; Köhler, *Allianzen und Verträge*, pp. 67–9.

<sup>12</sup> Ibn al-Athir, 'Kamel-Altevarykh', *RHC Or.* 1.193.

his *Historia* sometime in the first decade of the twelfth century), but his account does appear to have been based on the oral testimony of First Crusaders, and he clearly believed that such an alliance was both possible and largely acceptable.

At no point during this episode did Albert imply that religious difference was an issue and there is no suggestion that Omar was expected, either immediately or at some later date, to convert to Christianity as a precondition of the alliance. Raymond of Aguilers, who was an eyewitness, painted a somewhat different picture. Although he confirmed many of the details of Albert's account, he never identified Omar, referring more generally to the populace of 'Azaz, who, he suggested, now wished to be ruled by a 'Frankish lord'. In Raymond's version of events, conversion was of major concern; indeed, the Muslims of 'Azaz were depicted as having already turned to Christianity, being described as apostate Turks 'who now called out to God' and who 'made the sign of the Cross' against the besieging Aleppans.<sup>13</sup>

'Azaz represents the most detailed example of the establishment of a 'client ruler' or of Latin rule over a Muslim population, but it was certainly not a unique incident in the context of the crusade. In fact, in the first six months of 1099 the First Crusaders formed a number of other 'client ruler' relationships with the Muslims of Syria and the Lebanon. While in the region of 'Arqa, Raymond of Toulouse established contact with the Arab emir of Tripoli, Fakhr al-Mulk ibn-Ammar. His family had for years clung on to independence from Seljuq Turkish rule and was more than willing to purchase safety from the passing crusader army. The emir duly sent Raymond ten horses, four mules and some gold as gifts to open negotiations for a truce, but according to the *Gesta Francorum*, Raymond refused to confirm any treaty until the emir apostatized. The count appears, none the less, to have been quite happy to squeeze tribute out of Tripoli. Once the siege of 'Arqa had been established, Raymond's troops led foraging parties into the environs of Tripoli itself. At first the city put up some resistance, but once its defensive force had been annihilated and its streams were running red with Muslim blood, the terrified emir agreed to raise Raymond's banner as a prelude to a seemingly inevitable capitulation. In April/May 1099, Fakhr al-Mulk sought to regularize his client status by offering Raymond the promise of an annual tribute with a huge initial down-payment of '15,000 gold pieces of Saracen money, plus horses, she-mules [and] many garments'.<sup>14</sup>

As his lands back in Europe lay on the border with Iberia, Raymond of Toulouse would have been aware that for much of the eleventh century the Christians of northern Spain had grown rich on the tribute extracted from their Muslim neighbours to the south under the *parias* system. As time went on, this protection racket became so profitable that the Christian kings of Léon-Castile were actually reluctant to overthrow their ever-weakening Islamic 'enemies' for fear of losing valuable

13 AA, bk 5, chs 7–12, 32; Raymond of Aguilers, *Le 'Liber'*, pp. 88–9. WT, p. 347, closely follows Albert of Aachen's account of these events and makes no mention of conversion. Kemal ad-Din, 'La Chronique d'Alep', *RHC Or.* 3.586, confirms the broad details of this episode, but has Omar of 'Azaz making a pact with Raymond of Toulouse.

14 Raymond of Aguilers, *Le 'Liber'*, pp. 111–12.

revenue. A similar reluctance may have taken hold of Raymond in the latter stages of 'Arqa's investment, before he eventually elected to continue on the march south to Jerusalem.<sup>15</sup> As they set out in mid-May, the crusaders finalized a formal treaty with Fakhr al-Mulk – what the *Gesta Francorum* called a 'lawful agreement' – by which the emir released 300 captive pilgrims.<sup>16</sup> By this point, according to Raymond of Aguilers, a number of local Muslims had already converted to Christianity 'out of fear or because of their zeal for our way of life', but now the emir of Tripoli himself vowed to apostatize and 'hold his land from our leaders' should the crusaders capture Jerusalem and defeat the Fatimids of Egypt.<sup>17</sup>

Raymond also established temporary truces with the emirs of Shaizar and Homs during his march south from Ma'rit-an-Nu'man in return for markets for supplies.<sup>18</sup> Similarly, in early April 1099, Godfrey of Bouillon and Robert of Flanders 'made a treaty with the emir [of Jabala] ... and agreed terms of peace with him, receiving a tribute of horses and gold'.<sup>19</sup> It should be noted that the crusader princes do seem to have harboured some misgivings about this phase of their expedition, or at least to have been aware that it might have exposed them to criticism back in western Europe. In their letter to Pope Paschal II, authored with Daimbert of Pisa in September 1099, Godfrey of Bouillon and Raymond of Toulouse sought to justify these dealings with Muslims, stating that they had been necessary 'because our army was not large, and it was the unanimous wish to hasten to Jerusalem, we accepted their pledges and made them tributaries'.<sup>20</sup>

There were at least two other occasions when First Crusaders appear to have contemplated either coming to terms with Muslims or establishing peaceful dominion over them. In September 1097, Tancred of Hauteville led an expeditionary force into Cilician Armenian and quickly forced the Muslim-held city of Tarsus to agree to terms of surrender. His banner was raised above the citadel, the city gates opened and possession taken, all while the Turkish garrison remained within. There is no evidence to suggest that these Muslims were expecting to leave Tarsus, and it therefore seems likely that Tancred was originally planning to rule over them as their lord. However, any such scheme was soon thwarted by the arrival of Baldwin of Boulogne and the overthrow of Tancred's hold over Tarsus.<sup>21</sup>

15 For further comparison between the use of tribute systems in Iberia and the Levant, see T.S. Asbridge, 'The "Crusader" Community at Antioch: The Impact of Interaction with Byzantium and Islam', *TRHS* 6th series 9 (1999), pp. 305–25.

16 *GF*, p. 86.

17 Raymond of Aguilers, *Le 'Liber'*, pp. 105–6, 111–12, 130; *GF*, pp. 82–6.

18 Raymond of Aguilers, *Le 'Liber'*, pp. 102–4; *GF*, pp. 81–2.

19 *Ibid.*, p. 84; Raymond of Aguilers, *Le 'Liber'*, pp. 110–11; Peter Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere*, ed. J.H. Hill and L.L. Hill (Paris, 1977), pp. 129–31.

20 Hagenmeyer, ed., *Kreuzzugsbriefe*, p. 170.

21 AA, bk 3, chs 6–11; Ralph of Caen, 'Gesta Tancredi in expeditione Hierosolymitana', *RHC Oc.* 3.632–4; T.S. Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality of Antioch 1098–1130* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 18–19.

Ibn al-Qalanisi's *Damascus Chronicle* also informs us that at the time of the crusader siege of Ma'arrat-an-Nu'man, in December 1098, the Franks repeatedly sent envoys into the city with offers of terms of surrender. These apparently included 'security for [the Muslim population's] lives and property, and the establishment of a [Frankish] governor amongst them', but all offers were refused and the city later fell to an assault.<sup>22</sup>

It is, finally, worth noting the possible significance of a passing comment made by Raymond of Aguilers. In a seemingly casual aside, during a description of Frankish visions, he recorded that in the late spring of 1098, a certain Latin priest named Evremar travelled south to the Muslim-held city of Tripoli, where he supposedly spent some time 'keeping body and soul together'.<sup>23</sup> The suggestion that crusaders might, even in the midst of the desperate struggle to overcome Antioch, be able to travel freely through Islamic territory and perhaps benefit from Muslim hospitality is intriguing. It does gel with what else we know about the Franks' propensity for wide-ranging travel across Syria during the expedition's sojourn at Antioch.<sup>24</sup> And I do not think it would be too fanciful to suggest that it might be indicative of a whole range of otherwise unrecognized economic and inter-cultural contact between crusaders and the indigenous population of the Levant in this period.

The evidence examined in this article does not enable us to elucidate the precise mechanics of 'contact' between Latin Christian crusaders and Near Eastern Muslims between 1097 and 1099. But, it does indicate that a range of 'contacts' with Sunni and Shi'ite Muslims that were not based on military confrontation – what might be variously termed diplomacy, negotiation, financial exploitation and economic and inter-cultural interaction – did take place during the First Crusade. Attitudes towards the morality and/or advisability of these 'contacts' amongst crusaders and later contemporaries seem to have varied, but they were not dominated by blunt condemnation. Similarly, Muslim conversion (either actual or promised) does not appear to have been a universal precondition of interaction. And although some Franks, including Raymond of Aguilers, may have been uncomfortable about this prospect, others seem to have accepted it without question as a normalized feature of inter-religious communication.

All of this suggests that the First Crusaders did not prosecute their advance on the Holy Land in a state of desperate isolation, adrift amidst a hostile sea of Islam, but that, in addition to the range of long-acknowledged contacts with the Byzantines and eastern Christians, they enjoyed significant interactions with Muslims. This is

22 Ibn Al-Qalanisi, *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades, Extracted and Translated from the Chronicle of Ibn al-Qalanisi*, trans. H.A.R. Gibb (London, 1932), p. 47.

23 Raymond of Aguilers, *Le 'Liber'*, p. 117.

24 J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (London, 1986), p. 66, noted that Peter Bartholomew travelled at least 340 miles in search of food between December 1097 and June 1098. See also Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality of Antioch*, pp. 24–34. Given that Fakhr al-Mulk later released 300 Christian pilgrims from Tripoli, it may be that attitudes towards informal contact hardened as the First Crusade actually approached the Lebanon.

not to say that the Franks came to the Levant with the intention of establishing a lasting peace with Islam, nor even that they were ultimately willing to compromise the goals of their expedition in the interests of negotiation. The First Crusaders did not, however, view Muslims as an 'alien' species for whom they had an inbuilt and inflexible hatred. They were, in fact, willing to use negotiation and diplomacy in their dealings with Islam as tools of conflict, just as they were accustomed to do in their homelands. In this respect at least, the crusade seems to have been prosecuted in much the same way as if it had been played out in western Europe against a hostile Christian enemy.



## Chapter 3

# Kingship, Identity and Name-giving in the Family of Baldwin of Bourcq

Alan V. Murray

The crusader who became known to history as Baldwin II, second count of Edessa (1100–1118) and subsequently second king of Jerusalem (1118–31), is generally known in contemporary Latin sources as ‘Balduinus de Burgo’, ‘Balduinus de Burch’ or variants of these forms. Both his surname and the precise nature of his relationship to his two predecessors on the throne of Jerusalem, Godfrey of Bouillon and Baldwin I, have given rise to considerable confusion as well as debate. The matter of Baldwin II’s geographical origins is actually much less problematic than the question of his precise genealogical relationship to his two predecessors, Godfrey of Bouillon and Baldwin I. Whilst the older scholarship seemed certain that Baldwin II was a nephew or first cousin of Godfrey and Baldwin I, the most recent detailed research has demonstrated that a relationship as close as these must be discounted; although it is possible to posit a more distant connection between the counts of Rethel and the Bouillon-Boulogne dynasty, its precise nature remains shrouded in genealogical darkness.<sup>1</sup> The aim of this essay is not to pursue this – possibly unresolvable – question. Rather, I propose to examine some of the ways in which the kingship and dynastic connections of Baldwin of Bourcq were perceived and interpreted by subsequent history in contrast to the rule of his two predecessors. In particular, I will examine the genealogy and name-giving traditions of the royal family of the kingdom of Jerusalem from the time of Baldwin of Bourcq up to the reign of Baldwin IV.

In both scholarly and popular writing, the second king of Jerusalem has been frequently referred to as ‘Baldwin of Le Bourg’, although the authors who use this appellation never to my knowledge specify where Le Bourg might be found.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For detailed discussions of the relationship between the two families, see A.V. Murray, *The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Dynastic History, 1099–1125* (Oxford, 2000), App. C (pp. 171–5); P. Sabourin, ‘Baudoin de Bourcq, croisé, comte d’Edesse, roi de Jérusalem. Proposition de lecture d’un itinéraire peu ordinaire’, *Revue historique ardennaise* 31 (1996), pp. 3–15, and J.-N. Mathieu, ‘Sur les comtesses de Rethel au XIe siècle. Contribution à l’histoire des comtes de Rethel et des comtes de Porcien’, *Revue historique ardennaise* 32 (1997), pp. 3–19.

<sup>2</sup> J.F. Michaud, *Histoire des croisades*, 6th edn, 6 vols (Paris, 1841), 1.122; F. Chalandon, *Histoire de la Première Croisade jusqu’à l’élection de Godefroid de Bouillon*

Modern France contains at least eleven different locations known as Le Bourg, all of them situated in the centre or south of the medieval kingdom, or in Brittany.<sup>3</sup> None of these places accords with the information given about the western antecedents of Baldwin II by William of Tyre. According to this chronicler, Baldwin originated in France, specifically in the see of Reims; he was a son of Hugh, count of Rethel, and his wife, Melisende of Montlhéry. William was certainly in a position to know about Baldwin's family. He had, after all, begun his own historiographical research under the patronage of Baldwin's grandson, King Amalric, and also acted as tutor to Amalric's son Baldwin IV.<sup>4</sup> The first appearance of a count of Rethel dates from the year 1026, taking this title from a castle sited north of the River Aisne, and situated in the modern French *département* of Ardennes. His predecessors had been known as counts of Omont, a fief which was the actual nucleus of the county and was held from the archbishopric of Reims.<sup>5</sup> Over a hundred years ago, Reinhold Röhricht, one of the most careful and thorough historians of the crusades, suggested that the

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(Paris, 1925), p. 112; R. Grousset, *Histoire des croisades et du royaume franc de Jérusalem*, 2 vols (Paris, 1934–36), 1.12; S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades, Volume 2: The Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Frankish East, 1100–1187* (Cambridge, 1952), pp. 10, 144; F. Duncalf, 'The First Crusade: Clermont to Constantinople', in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. K.M. Setton, 6 vols (Madison, WI, 1969–89), 1.268; R. Payne, *The Crusades: A History* (London, 1994), p. 128; T. Jones and A. Ereira, *Crusades* (London, 1994), p. 56.

3 In the modern *départements* of Aveyron, Charente, Cher (2), Creuse, Dordogne, Finistère, Indre, Loir-et-Cher, Lot and Morbihan. There are also several locations known simply as Bourg, without the definite article. For localizations, see the *Dictionnaire nationale des communes de France* (Paris, 1984).

4 WT, p. 547: 'Hic fuit natione Francus, de episcopatu Remensi, filius domini Hugonis comitis de Retest et Milissendis preclare comitisse, que tot dicitur sorores habuisse, unde tanta multitudo filiorum et filiarum dicitur procreata, quantam hii neverunt qui principum genealogias sollicita investigant diligentia. Hic, vivente adhuc patre, cum aliis nobilibus qui iter Ierosolimitanum arripuerant, in comitatu domini ducis Godefridi, cuius erat consanguineus, eandem viam ea devotione qua alii ingressus est, reliquens domi apud patrem iam grandevum fratres duos et sorores totidem, quorum ipse omnium primogenitus erat. Nomen alterius fratrum Gervasius, qui postea fuit electus ad ecclesiam Remensem, alterius Manasses; sororum autem alteram habuit castellanus de Vitriaco, nomine Mahaldem, alteram dominus Herbrandus de Herges, vir nobilis et potens, nomine Hodiernam, ex qua natus est Manasses de Herges, quem nos postmodum, tempore domine Milissendis regine, regium vidimus constabularium. Porro patre huius domini Balduini regis defuncto, Manasses, filius eius, quia dominum Balduinum, qui primogenitus erat, regni occupatio detinebat, successit; quo etiam sine liberis decedente, Gervasius, frater eorum, dimisso Remensi archiepiscopatu uxorem contra instituta ecclesiastica ducens, eundem comitatum iure possedit hereditario. Suscepit autem ex uxore unicam filiam nobili viro in Normannia matrimonio copulavit; quo defuncto, sororis illorum filius, Mahaldis videlicet que castellano Vitriacensi nupserat, Iterius nomine, in codem comitatu successit.' The information on Baldwin's parentage is confirmed by Guibert of Nogent, 'Historia quae dicitur Gesta Dei per Francos', *RHC Oc.* 4.254.

5 M. Bur, *La Formation du comté de Champagne, 950–1150* (Nancy, 1977), pp. 133–40.

surname of Baldwin II derived from the settlement of Bourcq in the Ardennes, and that this place was probably an apanage of the counts of Rethel,<sup>6</sup> an identification that was later supported by Jean Richard.<sup>7</sup> The king's rightful appellation has now been restored to him in most scholarly literature, but references to 'Baldwin of Le Bourg' are still commonplace in popular, encyclopaedic and online publications.

Some fifty kilometres by road east-north-east of the city of Reims, in the *département* of Ardennes, lies the small hamlet of Bourcq, which, like the neighbouring settlement of Mars-sous-Bourcq, belongs to the *arrondissement* of Vouziers. The main feature of Bourcq even today is an impressive mound with the ruins of a castle, from which one has commanding views to the west and south across the rolling plains of Champagne. A few kilometres to the east, across the Aisne, the ground rises to a range of hills, the Argonne massif, which for much of the central Middle Ages formed the border between the kingdoms of France and Germany.<sup>8</sup> Throughout much of the eleventh century, the counts of Rethel were involved in the politics of the neighbouring German duchies of Upper and Lower Lotharingia, and it was, of course, in the company of Godfrey of Bouillon, duke of Lower Lotharingia and formerly count of Verdun, that Baldwin departed on the First Crusade.

The toponym Bourcq is thus the only feasible origin for the surname 'de Burch' or 'de Burgo'. It is most likely that Baldwin II derived his surname from Bourcq because the castle and its surrounding lands were his apanage, as suggested by Röhricht. Although William of Tyre would have us believe that Baldwin was the eldest of three sons, the forename Manasses had been used as the favoured appellation of the counts of Omont and Rethel since 989 at least; it is thus likely that of the three brothers it was Manasses, who is also mentioned with his parents in a charter of 1097 and predeceased them, who was the eldest son of Hugh and Melisende, whilst Baldwin and Gervase were the younger sons.<sup>9</sup>

The first three rulers of the kingdom of Jerusalem were judged quite differently by posterity. For the Middle Ages, Godfrey of Bouillon was an epitome of chivalry and Christian piety. This can be seen in his inclusion among the Nine Worthies, that set of chivalric heroes comprising three triads made up of Jews (Joshua, David and Judas Maccabaeus), pagans (Hector, Alexander and C. Julius Caesar) and Christians (Arthur, Charlemagne and Godfrey). Godfrey also gradually came to form the principal figure in the Old French Crusade Cycle of epic poems. A third important reflection of Godfrey's fame was his depiction in art: he seems to be the only resident ruler of Jerusalem to have been portrayed as an independent iconographic

<sup>6</sup> R. Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem* (Innsbrück, 1898), p. 125: 'Der Name Burg bezeichnete höchst wahrscheinlich die zur Grafschaft Rethel gehörige Apanage Bourcq in den Ardennen.' Ch. du Fresne Du Cange, *Les Familles d'Outremer*, ed. E.-G. Rey (Paris, 1869), p. 12, gave Baldwin's home as 'Bourg "en Rethelis"', but did not localize the toponym further.

<sup>7</sup> J. Richard, *Le royaume latin de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1953), p. 19.

<sup>8</sup> See Bur, *La Formation*.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 133–4, 412–14, 452; G. Saige, H. Lacaille and L.-H. Labande, eds, *Trésor des chartes du comté de Rethel*, 5 vols (Monaco, 1902–16), 1, no. 2.

subject, that is, in contexts other than illustrations of a written narrative.<sup>10</sup> Modern historiography has been less indulgent towards Godfrey than medieval writers were.<sup>11</sup> His short reign of less than a year (22 July 1099–18 July 1100) meant that he was able to do little to expand his tiny kingdom, which consisted of little more than Jaffa, Jerusalem and environs. Much of Godfrey's time and energy was used up in a political struggle with the new Latin patriarch of Jerusalem, Daibert of Pisa, which was still unresolved at the time of Godfrey's death.

Modern historiography has tended to write more approvingly of the achievements of Godfrey's brother and successor, Baldwin I: he ended the dispute with Daibert in favour of the secular power, established a kingship on the western model, and secured his kingdom's territorial basis with the conquest of most of the Palestinian coast. Baldwin was evidently also highly regarded by contemporaries. Despite his turbulent marital life, the papacy allowed him a degree of control over the Latin Church of Palestine that seemed to go against all the principles of the Gregorian Reform movement. He shared in much of the glory that his elder brothers had attained. All three were well known before the crusade as descendants of Charlemagne;<sup>12</sup> as king of Jerusalem, Baldwin I was seen – and probably saw himself – as a new Judas Maccabaeus, the hero of the Jewish uprising against the ancient Hellenistic kings of Syria. His tomb in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre probably bore the inscription *REX BALDWINUS, IUDAS ALTER MACHABAEUS / SPES PATRIAEC, VIGOR ECCLESIAE, VIRTUS UTRIUSQUE*.<sup>13</sup>

The designated successor to Baldwin I was his elder brother, Count Eustace III of Boulogne, whose candidature appealed to the legitimist sentiment that prevailed among some sections of the nobility. However, the cause of Baldwin of Bourcq was supported by others, who included Joscelin of Courtenay and the patriarch of Jerusalem, Arnulf of Chocques, and it was this group that prevailed.<sup>14</sup> Godfrey and

10 This statement is necessarily tentative, since to my knowledge no iconographic study of medieval rulers of Jerusalem has yet been undertaken. Several of the kings of Jerusalem are depicted in illustrations accompanying different versions of the chronicle of William of Tyre and its continuations, whereas Godfrey was often portrayed as one of the Nine Worthies. A splendid example, in which he is paired with Judas Maccabaeus, can be seen in the church of Dronninglund in Northern Jutland.

11 G. Waeger, *Gottfried von Bouillon in der Historiographie* (Zürich, 1969).

12 'Genealogia comitum Buloniensium', *MGH SS* 9.300–301.

13 S. de Sandoli, ed., *Corpus inscriptionum crucesignatorum Terrae Sanctae 1099–1291* (Jerusalem, 1974), pp. 57–8.

14 On these events and their consequences, see H.E. Mayer, *Mélanges sur l'histoire du royaume latin de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1984), pp. 73–91; A.V. Murray, 'Dynamic Continuity or Dynastic Change? The Accession of Baldwin II and the Nobility of the Kingdom of Jerusalem', *Medieval Prosopography* 13 (1992), pp. 1–28; A.V. Murray, 'Baldwin II and his Nobles: Baronial Factionalism and Dissent in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1118–1134', *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 38 (1994), pp. 60–84; J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095–1131* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 169–77; Murray, *The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, pp. 120–35.

Baldwin I had purposely created few lordships in their kingdom; those that were granted out tended to go to men who represented the most influential group among the nobility and clergy, who came predominantly from Lotharingia, Flanders and Normandy. Soon after his accession, Baldwin II seems to have carried out a major reorganization of the feudal landscape. The Rethel family did not possess the exalted ancestry that could be claimed by the dukes of Lower Lotharingia and the counts of Boulogne. Its connections were primarily with the nobility of the Ile-de-France and the surrounding areas, and it was men from these parts that were favoured by the new king with lordships and offices in the Church.

Baldwin's kingship was by no means secure after 1118. His policies among the nobility and his absences during long campaigns necessitated by the defence of northern Syria aroused considerable opposition. An attempt by Baldwin's opponents to depose him in favour of Count Charles of Flanders in 1123–24 failed, but even thereafter there was a possibility that Eustace III of Boulogne or one of his descendants might still claim the throne. However, Baldwin II, in contrast to his predecessor, had four children – all of them daughters – who helped anchor the security of the new dynasty. The eldest, Melisende, was married to Fulk V, count of Anjou, a union which produced a male heir. Two of the younger daughters (Alice and Hodierna) were given in marriage to cement alliances with the principality of Antioch and the county of Tripoli.

The prominence attained in Church and nobility by kinsmen of Baldwin II after his accession is now well known, and is amply documented in the works cited above. What is perhaps more significant in terms of the aims of this essay is how the links between the royal family and its home country remained strong for several decades thereafter. In 1128, Ither, the son of Baldwin II's sister Matilda and Odo, castellan of Vitry, visited the Holy Land. He later succeeded as count of Rethel on the death of Baldwin's brother, Gervase; his own son and successor bore the traditional Rethelois name of Manasses (III).<sup>15</sup> Baldwin's kinsmen were also prepared to act to defend the interests of the Rethelois royal family in subsequent reigns. The most famous – or notorious – example, was Hugh of Le Puiset, grandson of Baldwin II's aunt Alice. As count of Jaffa, he led a revolt against Fulk in 1133–34, when it was feared by Queen Melisende and her supporters that her husband was planning to diminish her powers as ruler. A similar role during the later reign of Melisende was played by another of her cousins, Manasses of Hierges, the son of Baldwin II's sister, Hodierna, and Heribrand of Hierges. Manasses of Hierges emigrated to Outremer in 1140, and true to his Rethelois name, rose to become constable of Jerusalem and the main political supporter of Melisende during her disputes with her son Baldwin III.<sup>16</sup> On a less prominent level, we find several persons bearing the surname 'of Rethel' up to around 1160: 'Eustachius de Roitest' in 1138, 'Adalardus Recestensis' in 1146,

15 'Guitterius sororius regis' appears as a witness to a document of Baldwin II in 1128: *RRH*, no. 121. He is the same as the *Itherius* mentioned by William of Tyre.

16 H.E. Mayer, 'Manasses of Hierges in East and West', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 66 (1988), pp. 757–66.

and 'Albertus de Retesth' mentioned among witnesses described as 'de baronibus et hominibus regis' in 1160.<sup>17</sup> It is not possible to say much about these individuals other than that they were prominent enough to witness documents, but the fact that they were still known by surnames of western origin suggests that they were recent immigrants rather than second- or third-generation settlers, which indicates that connections between Outremer and Rethel were still reasonably strong. A more prominent personage, Robert of Rethel ('Robertus de Retesta'), seems to have been a substantial landholder in the area of Magna Mahumeria (al-Bira) in the royal demesne north of Jerusalem in the period 1150–60.<sup>18</sup> However, beyond this it is difficult to trace any further such connections between east and west.

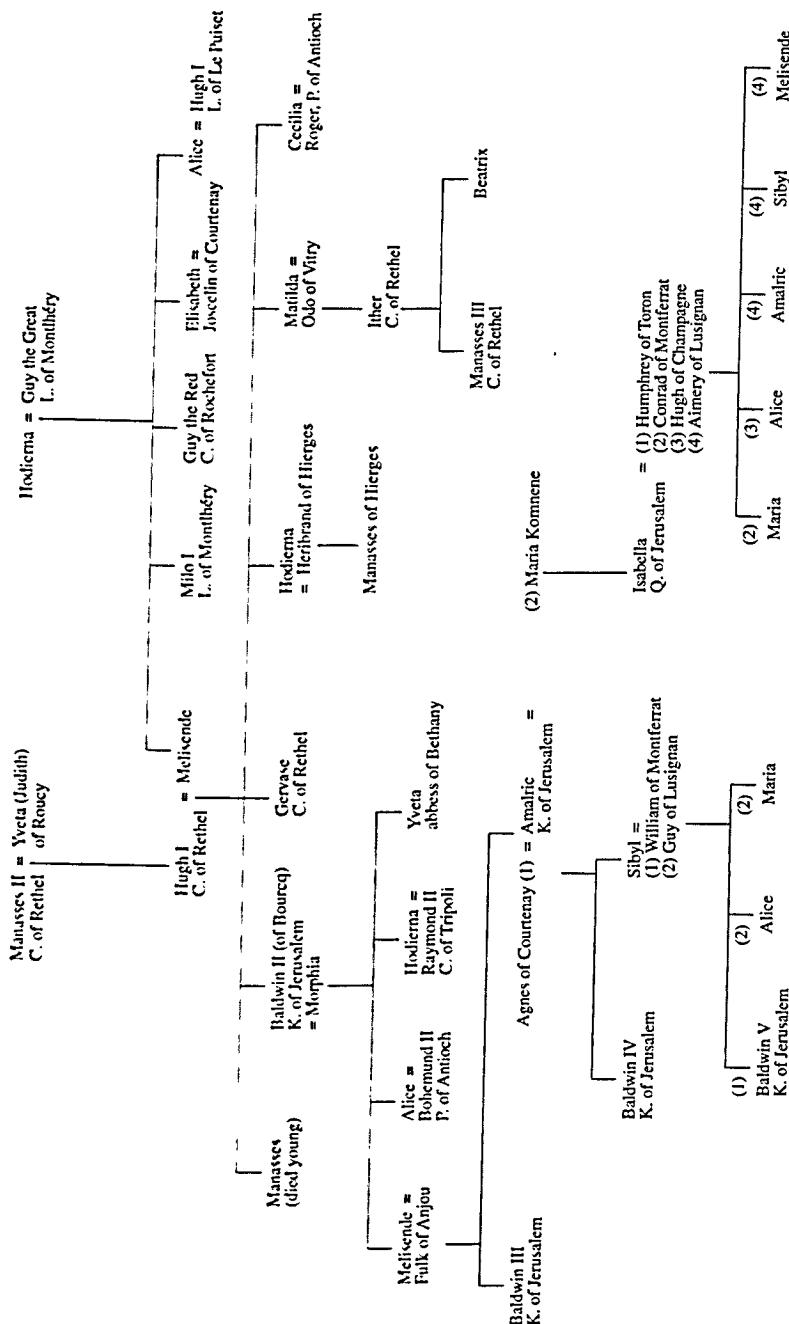
The choices of names given to Baldwin II's children and to the following three generations are revealing about the identity and self-perception of the new dynasty (see Table 3.1). The first impression one gains is of continuity with the Bouillon-Boulogne family, as would seem to be indicated by the continued use of the name Baldwin by kings of Jerusalem up to 1186. It is also noticeable that Manasses, the traditional name of the counts of Omont and Rethel, was never used among the royal family. Yet a quite different picture emerges if we examine the wider onomastic stock of Baldwin II's descendants. Baldwin and his Armenian wife Morphia had four daughters, three of them born while he was still count of Edessa. All four were given names with strong Rethelois traditions: (1) Melisende, the heiress to the kingdom of Jerusalem, was evidently named after Baldwin II's mother, Melisende, a daughter of Guy the Great, lord of Montlhéry (*dép. Essonne, arr. Palaiseau*). (2) Alice, who was married to Prince Bohemund II of Antioch, shared her name with an aunt of Baldwin II, the wife of Hugh I, lord of Le Puiset (*dép. Eure-et-Loir, arr. Chartres*). (3) Hodierna, who was married to Count Raymond II of Tripoli, shared her name with two close relatives of Baldwin II: his maternal grandmother, the wife of Guy the Great, and one of his sisters, who married Heribrand, lord of Hierges (*dép. Ardennes, arr. Charleville-Mézières*). (4) The youngest daughter, Yveta, who became a nun and ultimately abbess of Bethany, was most probably named for Yveta (Judith), sister of Count Ebalus I of Roucy and wife of Count Manasses II of Rethel, and thus Baldwin II's paternal grandmother.<sup>19</sup>

17 *RRH*, nos 174, 245, 353. For datings of these documents, see most recently H.E. Mayer, *Die Kanzlei der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem*, 2 vols (Hanover, 1996), 2.845–86.

18 *RRH*, nos 272, 332, 338, 340, 365. Robert is primarily known from a property dispute with the canons of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. C. Tischler, *Die Burgenses von Jerusalem im 12. Jahrhundert: Eine Prosopographie über die nichtadligen Einwohner Jerusalems von 1120 bis 1187* (Frankfurt am Main, 2000), p. 141, claims Robert as a burgess, but the description *dominus* would more readily indicate a member of the nobility.

19 WT, pp. 551, 613, 709, 786; 'Genealogiae scriptoris Fusniacensis', *MGH SS* 13.251–6; Saige, Lacaille and Labande, eds, *Trésor des chartes du comté de Rethel*, 1, nos 1–6. It is notable that there are no names among the descendants of Baldwin II that reflect his wife's Armenian ancestry.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE I  
The Ancestry and Descendance of Baldwin of Bourcq



Sources: A.V. Murray, 'Dynamic Continuity or Dynastic Change? The Accession of Baldwin II and the Nobility of the Kingdom of Jerusalem', *Medieval Prosopography* 13 (1992), pp. 1-28; A.V. Murray, *The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Dynastic History, 1099-1125* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 171-5.

Baldwin II had been king of Jerusalem for a decade when he arranged the marriage of his heir, Melisende, with Count Fulk V of Anjou. As holder of a royal dignity charged with the guardianship of the holiest places in Christendom, Baldwin II was now far more exalted than any previous members of the family of the counts of Rethel. It was now appropriate for the royal family to inaugurate a new onomastic tradition that would point back to Baldwin II himself, rather than to any of his ancestors; this would explain why the name Baldwin was given to his grandson, Baldwin III (b. 1131), the son of Fulk and Melisende, as well as to his great-grandson, Baldwin IV (b. 1161), and his great-great-grandson, Baldwin V (b. 1177/78). Less easy to explain is the choice of the name Amalric (Fr. Amaury) for the second son of Fulk and Melisende, as this name is absent from the Rethel ancestry. The most likely possibility is that this name derived from Fulk's own family. His mother was Bertrada, daughter of Count Simon of Montfort. Bertrada's brother as well as several of her ancestors bore the name Amalric, so much so that the place from which they derived their comital title became known as Montfort-l'Amaury (*dép. Yvelines, arr. Rambouillet*).<sup>20</sup>

The provenance of the names of the royal family thereafter, with the exception of Baldwin IV and Baldwin V, is less obvious. First, there is the case of Sibyl(la), Amalric's daughter by his first wife, Agnes of Courtenay. Fulk of Anjou had a daughter called Sibyl by his first wife, Eremburga of Maine. This Sibyl was thus a half-sister of King Amalric. She was married first to William Clito (d. 1128), son of Duke Robert II of Normandy, and then in 1134 to Thierry of Alsace, count of Flanders. Thierry was a keen crusader, and came to the Holy Land on no fewer than four occasions (1139, 1147–49, 1157–58 and 1164–65). His wife accompanied him in 1157, and remained in the Holy Land until her death. King Amalric's daughter, Sibyl, seems to have been born shortly before 1161. It is possible that she was named in honour not only of Sibyl of Anjou, but also of Thierry himself, who was renowned as an enthusiastic defender of the Holy Land at a time when little military assistance was forthcoming from the west.<sup>21</sup> The two young daughters of Sibyl and Guy of Lusignan, who died with her at the siege of Tyre, were called Alice and Maria;<sup>22</sup> Alice certainly gives an instance of a continued use of a Rethelois name, which had occurred in the generations preceding as well as following Baldwin of Bourcq. The provenance of the name of Amalric's daughter by Maria Comnena, the much-married Queen Isabella I, remains more puzzling, even if we take into account the fact that in the Middle Ages, Isabella and Elisabeth were regarded as forms of the same name. Yet the names of her children by her fourth husband, Aimery of Lusignan, indicate the continuation of a joint Rethelois-Angevin onomastic tradition: Amalric (significantly,

20 L. Halphen, *Le comté d'Anjou au XIe siècle* (Paris, 1906), pp. 169–71. It was, of course, a later lord of this line, also called Simon, who became famous as the leader of the Albigensian Crusade. His eldest son, Amalric, became duke of Narbonne.

21 On Sibyl of Anjou, see B. Hechelhammer, 'Die Kreuzfahrerin: Sibylle von Anjou, Gräfin von Flandern (\*1110, †1165)', in *Die Kreuzzüge: Kein Krieg ist heilig*, ed. H.-J. Kotzur, W. Wilhelmy and B. Klein (Mainz, 2004), pp. 229–33.

22 M.R. Morgan, ed., *La Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr (1184–1197)* (Paris, 1982), p. 105: 'En celle saison fu morte la reyne Sebille et ses .ij. filles, Alis et Marie.'

not Aimery), Sibyl and Melisende.<sup>23</sup> However, what is quite striking is the absence among the royal family after 1118 of any of the typical names of the Bouillon dukes of Lotharingia (Godfrey, Gozelo) or of the comital family of Boulogne (Eustace, Lambert, Geoffrey, Ida); the use of the name Baldwin in the royal family from this time up to 1186 must derive from Baldwin of Bourcq himself, rather than from his predecessor, Baldwin I.

The accession of Baldwin of Bourcq in 1118 thus represented a significant breach of continuity in terms of dynastic tradition as well as in the composition of the ruling classes of the kingdom of Jerusalem. Yet posterity seems to have wanted to resolve this breach by presenting continuity between Baldwin and his two predecessors. This can be seen most clearly in the Crusade Cycle of Old French epics. The historical core of this cycle consisted of three poems dealing with events of the First Crusade and its immediate aftermath: the *Chanson d'Antioche*, the *Chanson (Conquête) de Jérusalem* and *Les Chétifs*. Between 1180 and 1220, this core was extended back in time through the addition of romances of Godfrey of Bouillon's childhood and ancestry back to his legendary forebear, the Swan Knight: *La Naissance (Enfances) du Chevalier au Cygne*, *Le Chevalier au Cygne* (1170/88), *La Fin d'Elias* (1188/1218), *Les Enfances Godefroi* and *Le Retour de Cormumarant*. Somewhat later, it was extended forward in time through the addition of several continuations, sometimes collectively known as the *Jérusalem Continuations*: *La Chrétienté Corbaran*, *La Prise d'Acre*, *La Mort de Godefroi* and *La Chanson des Rois Baudouin*. These poems take the narrative up to the end of the reign of Baldwin IV, but they also conflate events from the time of the First Crusade and the reign of Baldwin I with events from the time of Amalric and Baldwin IV, whilst omitting a great deal of the history of the intervening period.<sup>24</sup>

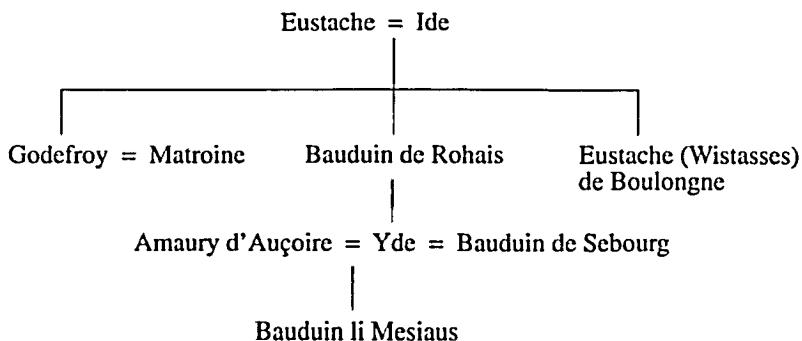
Only four reigning kings of Jerusalem figure in the narrative of the *Jérusalem Continuations*: (1) Godefroy, (2) Bauduin de Rohais (*Rohas*, that is, Edessa), his brother, (3) Amaury d'Auçoire, who marries Bauduin's daughter, Yde, and (4) their son, Bauduin li Mesiaus or Bauduin li Enfes (see Table 3.2). Thus four historical kings named Baldwin are reduced to two. The single figure of Bauduin de Rohais seems to be a composite of the historical kings Baldwin I and Baldwin II. In addition, there is the figure of Bauduin de Sebourg or Seboure, who marries Yde after the death of Amaury and acts as regent during the minority of Bauduin li Mesiaus, who is clearly the leper-king Baldwin IV. Despite the similarity of names, there is no real correspondence between the literary Bauduin de Sebourg and the historical Baldwin of Bourcq; the former simply figures at too late a point in the narrative.<sup>25</sup>

23 'Les Lignages d'Outremer', in *RHC Lois* 2.444: 'Et elle [Ysabeau] espousa le rei Heymeri et ot un fiz et deus filles: Amauri et Sebille et Melicent.'

24 J.A. Nelson and E.J. Mickel, eds, *The Old French Crusade Cycle*, 10 vols (Tuscaloosa, AL, 1977–2003). P.R. Grillo, 'Royauté et chevalerie dans les Continuations du Cycle de la Croisade', *Memorias de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 21 (1990), pp. 307–19. In the following discussion, Old French forms of personal names are used to denote literary characters of the Crusade Cycle in contrast to historical personages.

25 P.R. Grillo, ed., *The Old French Crusade Cycle, Volume VII: The Jerusalem Continuations, Part 2. La Prise d'Acre, La Mort Godefroi, and La Chanson des Rois Baudouin*

GENEALOGICAL TABLE 2  
The Kings of Jerusalem in the *Jérusalem Continuations*



Source: P.R. Grillo, ed., *The Old French Crusade Cycle, Volume VII: The Jerusalem Continuations, Part 2. La Prise d'Acre, La Mort Godefroi, and La Chanson des Rois Baudouin* (Tuscaloosa, AL, 1987).

Strangely, a far more historically accurate picture of the royal succession is presented by a *later* version of the *Jérusalem Continuations*, dating from the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, which is known as the London-Turin Version after its manuscript transmission.<sup>26</sup> In this version, Bauduin de Sebourg arrives from the west during the reign of Godefroi's brother, Bauduin, who has no children. Bauduin de Sebourg is crowned king to succeed him in preference to his other brother, Wistace de Bouloingne. Bauduin de Sebourg marries a daughter of Tancré and Florie (sister of Corbaran, a converted Saracen). Their daughter in turn marries Fouques d'Anjou; they have two sons, Bauduin and Amauri. This version is much more extended than the earlier form of the *Jérusalem Continuations* (27,388 lines as opposed to 6,778 lines). Far more attention is devoted to the middle period of twelfth-century Outremer, for example the descriptions of the siege of Ascalon (1153) and Amauri's campaigns in Egypt.<sup>27</sup> This means that Bauduin de Sebourg, third ruler in this version of the epic succession, presents a reasonably accurate picture of King Baldwin II, although the claim that he is the son of Baldwin I's uncle – who is not named – cannot be substantiated. It seems likely that the redactor of this version made use

(Tuscaloosa, AL, 1987).

26 MSS London, British Library, Add. 36615 and Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, L-III-25.

27 P.R. Grillo, ed., *The Old French Crusade Cycle, Volume VIII: The Jerusalem Continuations. The London-Turin Version* (Tuscaloosa, AL, 1994).

of the chronicle of Ernoul or one of the Old French translations of the chronicle of William of Tyre.<sup>28</sup>

The memory of Baldwin II's Rethelois origins seems to have been preserved by some genealogists in the Latin East, as is evident from the *Lignages d'Outremer*, first compiled in Cyprus around 1270.<sup>29</sup> Other sources are less certain. In the first part of the chronicle of Ernoul, composed after 1187, Baldwin II is named variously as Bauduins de Bourc, Bauduins de Beure and Bauduins de Beurc, with manuscript variants reading *Bouire*, *Boure* and *Borch*.<sup>30</sup> This variation suggests that scribes were trying to reproduce a name that had been important enough to be transmitted to them, but that they could no longer identify with a western place-name that was known to them. In the west itself, knowledge was even more sketchy. Both versions of the *Jérusalem Continuations* share the characteristic that the figures of Bauduin de Rohais and Bauduin de Sebourg no longer have any recognizable connections with Bourcq or with the comital dynasty of Rethel. In these works, it was far more important to link all the kings of Jerusalem with the prestigious Bouillon-Boulogne family and the mythical ancestry that took them back to the Swan Knight.

Unlike his two predecessors, Baldwin of Bourcq and his family provided a genealogical continuity for the Latin kingdom for the rest of its existence. Up to the fall of Acre to the Mamluks in 1291, all of the kingdom's rulers were either descendants, or the spouses of descendants, of Baldwin of Bourcq. Specifically, these rulers descended from the various marriages of Queen Isabella I, daughter of King Amalric and Maria Comnena. However, Baldwin V (d. 1186) was the last king to be given a specifically Rethelois name, whilst Rethelois-Angevin names seem to have last been used for the children of Amalric's daughter, Isabella I. Members of the royal family subsequently became disconnected from their original kinship identity, a development which was also reflected in those literary works which, as we have seen, attempted to link Baldwin II's family with that of Godfrey of Bouillon and Baldwin I. This can be seen quite clearly in the Crusade Cycle, transmitted in 24 surviving manuscripts and fragments plus four other lost manuscripts. Whilst a Bauduin de Burs is mentioned in the *Chanson d'Antioche* in connection with the events of the First Crusade, once his character becomes associated with the kingship of Jerusalem, Baldwin of Bourcq is transformed into Bauduin de Sebourg. This new identification seems to have resulted from an association with Sebourg in Hainault, possibly because by the thirteenth century, this place was better known to the scribes and redactors of the northern French-speaking areas than was the tiny settlement of Bourcq in the Ardennes. Sebourg, situated east of Valenciennes, was erected into a lordship by Count Baldwin IV of Hainault (d. c. 1220) for his son, Henry, and

28 Grillo, ed., *The Old French Crusade Cycle*, vol. viii, p. 30.

29 'Les Lignages d'Outremer', p. 441: 'Après la mort dou devant dit roy Bauduin, fu roy de Jerusalem Bauduins dou Bourc, conte de Rohais, qui fus fis au conte Huon de Retel et de la contesse Melissent.'

30 M.L. de Mas Latrie, ed., *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard Le Trésorier* (Paris, 1871), pp. 2-4.

eventually passed to Baldwin of Hénin, lord of Fontaine (Belgium, *prov.* Hainaut, *arr.* Charleroi), on his marriage to Isabella of Hainault, lady of Sebourg. As Peter Grillo has shown, Hainault genealogists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries claimed the second king of Jerusalem as one of the ancestors of the lords of Sebourg.<sup>31</sup>

By this time, the historical identity of King Baldwin II had floated so far from its origins at Bourcq that he could even be claimed as a German. In 1584 appeared the *Chronicon Hierosolymitanum*, a collection of sources on the crusades put together by the editor Reiner Reineck (1541–95) with a historical commentary provided by the humanist Matthäus Dresser (1536–1607). In the commentary, the name *Balduinus ... de Burch* which appears in Albert of Aachen's list of crusaders who departed with Godfrey of Bouillon is glossed with the information 'Burgiorum equestrem familiam habet adhuc hodie Westphalia'.<sup>32</sup> Similarly, in the introduction to his reworking of Torquato Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata* published in 1626, the poet Diederich von dem Werder confidently stated that Baldwin originated in Westphalia, basing this claim on the evidence of Reineck's compendium.<sup>33</sup> It was to be well over two centuries before Baldwin of Bourcq's true geographical origins again became generally known in scholarship of the crusades.

31 P.R. Grillo, 'Romans de croisade, histoires de famille. Recherches sur le personnage de Baudouin de Sebourg', *Romania* 110 (1989), pp. 383–95.

32 R. Reineccius, *Chronicon Hierosolymitanum i.e. de bello sacro historie* (Helmstedt, 1584), p. 20b and Appendix (unpaginated), quire c<sup>5</sup> b.

33 Diederich von dem Werder, *Gotfried von Bulljon, oder Das Erlösete Jerusalem*, ed. G. Dünnhaupt (Tübingen, 1974), p. 14: 'Im Jahr 1118 ward zum König erwehlet Baldovinnus Burgius, deß Geschlechtes wie Reinerus Reineccius meldet von der Burg in Westphalen.'

## Chapter 4

# Armenia, Edessa and the Second Crusade

Jonathan Phillips<sup>1</sup>

‘How greatly our predecessors have laboured for the liberation of the eastern Church ...’.<sup>2</sup> With these famous words, Pope Eugenius III began his appeal to the people of France to take the cross and embark upon the Second Crusade. Much of the scholarly attention devoted to this bull has examined the imagery Eugenius used to convince his audience to respond, and the developments in crusading ideology represented therein.<sup>3</sup>

Underlying the dominant need to liberate the Holy Sepulchre, similar phrases to these calls to help ‘the eastern Church’ and the Christian inhabitants of the Levant were ascribed to Pope Urban II in his speech at Clermont in 1095. The actual meaning of ‘the eastern Church’ to a knightly audience was not necessarily clear, but for Urban at least it included responding to the call of Alexios I to assist the Byzantine empire against the Seljuk Turks of Asia Minor. The ‘eastern Church’ was probably thought of in the broad sense of helping all Christians in the Holy Land; Baldric of Bourgeuil, for example, wrote of the harassments and tribulations of the brother Christians ‘oppressed and injured in Jerusalem and Antioch and the other cities along the coast’.<sup>4</sup>

Fifty years later, the position had changed somewhat. Relations with the Byzantine empire had been clouded by the crusaders’ capture of Antioch in 1098 and Bohemond’s subsequent refusal to surrender it to Alexios. Greek invasions of the principality in 1137–38, 1142–43 and 1145 did little to promote close relations between the two parties. In consequence, the meaning of ‘eastern Church’ by the time of Pope Eugenius III was, perhaps, less likely to prioritize the Greeks.

There was, however, an episode at the time of the Second Crusade that revealed much about the relationship between the papacy and another group of ‘eastern Christians’; namely the Armenian Church. Largely obscured by the launch of

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1 The author would like to thank Professor Bernard Hamilton for his kind advice in writing this article.

2 Eugenius III, ‘Quantum praedecessores’, in R. Grosse, ‘Überlegungen zum Kreuzzugsaufruf Eugens III. von 1145/46. Mit einer Neuedition von JL 8876’, *Francia* 18 (1991), p. 90.

3 P. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095–1270* (Cambridge, MA, 1991), pp. 41–2, 49; G. Constable, ‘The Second Crusade as Seen by Contemporaries’, *Traditio* 9 (1953), pp. 248–54.

4 Baldric of Bourgeuil, ‘Historia Jerosolimitana’, *RHC Oc.* 4.12.

*Quantum praedecessores*, historians have tended to pass over the presence, in the autumn of 1145, of an embassy sent to the papal court by the *catholico*s, the head of the Armenian Church, and his bishops. An analysis of this mission and its context are the primary concerns of this paper. Viewed with this insight, Eugenius's concern for the fate of Christians living in the Holy Land may, for the papacy in particular, have had a particular bias towards the Armenians, rather than simply referring to the Catholic settlers alone, although they certainly remained the central issue for the knightly classes of the west.

The conquests of the First Crusade had brought large numbers of eastern-rite Christians under Frankish rule. This was something made plain in the numerous accounts of the expedition and its aftermath that circulated the west in the first decades of the twelfth century.<sup>5</sup> The importance of the eastern Christians would have been reinforced further by contact through intermarriage, diplomacy, trade and pilgrimage. For example, the principality of Antioch and the county of Edessa both possessed substantial populations of Syrian Orthodox (Jacobites) and Armenians.<sup>6</sup> Notwithstanding the special emphasis on the latter group suggested here, Eugenius's request to help the eastern Church in 1145 could, therefore, be looked at as a generic shorthand for all Christian brothers – those of eastern rites *and* the Latin settlers. Thus, *Quantum praedecessores* stated:

The city of Edessa, in our tongue known as Rohais, which also, it is said, alone under Christian rule had respect for the power of God at that time when all the land in the east was held by the pagans, has been taken by the enemies of the cross of Christ, who have also occupied many Christian castles. And the archbishop of that city and his clerics and many other Christians have been killed there ... we recognize how great the danger is that threatens the Church of God and all Christianity because of this.<sup>7</sup>

The phrase 'all Christianity' suggests that the danger was not just to the Franks, but to the Christian population of the east as a whole. Furthermore, Edessa itself, as the burial place of the Apostle Thomas, was a place of spiritual importance to all Christians. An oblique proof of this is the – partially incorrect – comment of the Muslim historian, Ibn al-Athir: 'Edessa is the eye of the Jazira ... it is one of the noblest and most admired cities of the Christians. It is one of the ecclesiastical sees for them: for the noblest of them is Jerusalem, then Antioch, then Rome and Constantinople and Edessa.'<sup>8</sup>

5 For a detailed discussion of these texts and their circulation, see J.P. Phillips, *The Second Crusade: Extending the Frontiers of Christianity* (New Haven, CT, 2007).

6 M. Amouroux-Mourad, *Le Comté d'Edesse, 1098–1150* (Paris, 1988), pp. 47–9, 51–3.

7 Eugenius III, 'Quantum praedecessores', pp. 90–1; translation from L. and J. Riley-Smith, eds, *The Crusades: Idea and Reality, 1095–1274* (London, 1981), pp. 57–8.

8 Ibn al-Athir, 'Histoire des Atabecs de Mosul', *RHC Or.* 2.118.

In this broad context lies the Armenian mission of 1145 that arrived at Viterbo in October or November 1145.<sup>9</sup> The sole source for this is the 'Chronica' of Otto of Freising, although the bishop himself was present during the embassy's stay at the papal curia at Viterbo where most of the key discussions took place. Otto related that the delegation 'assured Eugenius in their greetings in the name of that Church of their entire submission' to the pope.<sup>10</sup> Otto then outlined a series of theological matters upon which the visitors sought guidance, such as the proper way to celebrate the Eucharist and the correct date for keeping Christmas.

The meeting was marked by an Armenian bishop experiencing a vision; he saw a miraculous sunbeam flashing around the pope's head with two doves ascending and descending in its light. This spectacle took place as Eugenius celebrated a mass that he had instructed the visitors to observe in order to witness the proper process. As the bishop looked at the light, he realized it came from no window, but rather from Heaven. He understood that it was God's doing and, Otto argued, was even more inspired to obedience to Rome. Eugenius interpreted the vision as a sign of the bishop's faith and as a sign that the Armenians should see the light of truth and how exactly they should revere the power of the sacraments.<sup>11</sup>

One might note that *Quantum praedecessores* was issued three weeks after this revelation, and should also register the attendance of Alberic of Ostia, the papal legate to the Holy Land, who had recently presided over the 1141 synod of Jerusalem, an event that saw positive contacts between the Franks and the Armenians (see p. 45 below).<sup>12</sup>

No other writer describes the 'submission' of the Armenian Church at this time, and later events make plain that in a full and formal sense, no such act took place. Some historians have – unsurprisingly – suggested that Otto overstated the Armenians' position, but as Hamilton argues, it is possible that the envoys were acknowledging papal primacy of jurisdiction in matters such as the correct date for Christmas, rather than offering full subordination to Rome and the loss of their independence.<sup>13</sup>

Otto was, of course, a highly educated man and an eyewitness to these events, and it is interesting that he – writing almost immediately afterwards (the first edition of the 'Chronica' was completed before September 1146) – viewed this episode in such an advantageous light.<sup>14</sup> If he held such a belief, however wrongly, it seems

9 Eugenius III, 'Epistolae', *PL* 180.1, 1057–63.

10 'eique ex parte illius consalutando offerentes causas viae ecclesiae subiectionem omnimodam', Otto of Freising, *Chronica sive Historia de duabus civitatibus*, ed. W. Lammers, trans. A. Schmidt (Darmstadt, 1961), p. 333.

11 *Ibid.*

12 Alberic joined the papal court by mid-December: Eugenius III, 'Epistolae', col. 1,068.

13 B. Hamilton, 'The Armenian Church and the Papacy at the Time of the Crusades', *Eastern Churches Review* 10 (1978), pp. 66–7.

14 See the introduction to Otto of Freising, *The Two Cities*, trans. C.C. Mierow (New York, NY, 1928), p. 18.

feasible that his fellow Cistercian, Pope Eugenius, also thought along similar lines. It is logical, therefore, to connect the timing of this embassy with the papal call to help eastern Christians in *Quantum praedecessores* and also the contemporary strategic situation in northern Syria.

Four important factors give further credibility to this suggestion: first, the generally positive history of relations between the Armenians and the Frankish settlers dating from the time of the First Crusade; second, the impetus of events in northern Syria over the decade before the fall of Edessa; third, evidence from a contemporary Armenian source; and fourth, the original military aim of the Second Crusade.

The first of the Latin states established in the Levant was acquired in 1098 by Baldwin of Boulogne during his crusade. Of all the Frankish conquests, it was the settlement of Edessa that saw the closest integration between the westerners and the indigenous population. The Armenian nobility were deemed suitable for intermarriage, and Baldwin wedded Arda, an Armenian princess; Count Baldwin II married the daughter of the governor of Melitene, and his successor, Count Joscelin I, the Roupenid Beatrice.<sup>15</sup> The Frankish nobility was said to value the tradition of mounted warriors amongst the Armenians, and the two groups were natural allies in the military sphere, although relations between the Armenian nobility and the settlers were occasionally subject to tensions.<sup>16</sup> When he took power in Edessa, Baldwin of Boulogne had overthrown Thoros, although the Armenian was unpopular amongst his own people anyway. In 1105–1106, Frankish maltreatment of the population of Albistan caused the Armenians to call in the local Muslims, and they slaughtered the Frankish commander and his garrison: ‘Thus friendship and happiness between friends was destroyed; treachery and hatred was disseminated throughout the land.’<sup>17</sup> In 1112, 20 Armenian traitors attempted to betray Edessa to Mawdud of Mosul, and Count Joscelin I had the offenders severely punished.<sup>18</sup> The main evidence for these latter episodes is Matthew of Edessa, but MacEvitt has sensibly indicated that in some cases, such as the massacre of the population of Saruj in 1103 and the expulsion of all non-Franks from Edessa in 1110, other contemporary sources give a more nuanced picture, and suggest that the settlers’ aggression was usually directed more narrowly against the Muslim communities.<sup>19</sup>

Several families worked closely with the Franks. For example, Gogh Vasil gave a significant sum of money and organized the collection of the huge ransom needed to secure the release of Bohemond I by the Danishmends in 1103; the prince was

15 J.H. Forse, ‘The Armenians and the First Crusade’, *Journal of Medieval History* 17 (1991), p. 16.

16 C. MacEvitt, ‘Christian Authority in the Latin East: Edessa in Crusader History’, in *The Medieval Crusade*, ed. S. Ridyard (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 71–83.

17 Matthew of Edessa, ‘Chronicle’, in *Armenia and the Crusades, Tenth to Twelfth Centuries*, trans. A.E. Dostaurian (Lanham, ML, 1993), pp. 197–8.

18 J.B. Segal, *Edessa, ‘The Blessed City’* (Oxford, 1970), pp. 233–4.

19 MacEvitt, ‘Christian Authority’, pp. 73–4.

even adopted as a son by the Armenian.<sup>20</sup> In 1110, Armenian princes responded to the call of King Baldwin I of Jerusalem (who was still married to Arda at this time) to help fight his Muslim enemies. More significantly, perhaps, Armenians evidently came to form a trusted part of the government of Edessa. When, in 1122-23, Count Joscelin was imprisoned by Balak of Aleppo, Prince Vasil acted as regent. An Armenian inscription on the east gate of the stronghold of Edessa states that this took place in the time of 'the pious, excellent and valorous soldier of Christ, the great Count Joscelin and in the administration of the God-loving Prince Vasil who held the locum tenancy of the dukedom of this great city of Edessa'.<sup>21</sup> Furthermore, soon after Joscelin was captured, so was King Baldwin II, and when an attempt was made to rescue them in 1124, it was fifty Armenians who conducted the raid. They were unsuccessful, and Balak had them killed.<sup>22</sup>

Beyond particular military episodes, the two groups shared an affinity for the warrior saints of Demetrius and Theodore, and the veneration of a relic of the True Cross. Intriguingly, Gregory the Priest, an Armenian writing in the mid-twelfth century, also revealed an understanding or shared ideological perspective with regards to the Franks' struggle with the Muslims. He wrote of Baldwin of Marash – a man fluent in Armenian – as 'a champion of Christ', and viewed Baldwin as a martyr when he died in 1146, 'for we know and believe that this is the fate of those amongst the Christians who fall in battle by the sword of the infidels'.<sup>23</sup> In other words, the Armenians had absorbed the western idea of fighting for the absolution of sins, rather than their traditional, pre-crusader doctrine of finding glory alone.<sup>24</sup> Certain symbols of faith began to be shared; for example, the Holy Cross of Varag. This cross, which had been discovered in the seventh century by a hermit, had come to Edessa from a monastery near Lake Van in 1092. It was kept in the Church of the Holy Apostles in the city, and it was the relic upon which Baldwin of Boulogne swore (falsely) to spare the life of Lord Thoros.<sup>25</sup> In 1110, however, facing an attack from the emir of Mosul, the Franks and the Armenians joined forces: 'On the following day the Franks prepared for battle. Bringing forth the holy cross of Varag, the troops of Edessa fastened it to the end of a lance and carried it before them'.<sup>26</sup> As MacEvitt argues, 'we can only imagine the ceremonies preceding ... the battle, but Armenian priests undoubtedly participated'.<sup>27</sup> He also suggests that a new coin issued by Baldwin II showing the count in armour, holding a sword and a cross (possibly the Cross of Varag) may be connected with this important reliquary. The use of the Cross of Varag in battle and perhaps on a coin linked Frankish power

20 Matthew of Edessa, 'Chronicle', pp. 191-2.

21 C. Dowsett, 'A Twelfth Century Armenian Inscription at Edessa', in *Iran and Islam*, ed. C.E. Bosworth, (Edinburgh, 1971), pp. 200-201.

22 Segal, *Edessa*, p. 236.

23 Matthew of Edessa, 'Chronicle', p. 255.

24 MacEvitt, 'Christian Authority', p. 80.

25 Segal, *Edessa*, p. 239; MacEvitt, 'Christian Authority', pp. 78-9.

26 Matthew of Edessa, 'Chronicle', p. 205.

27 MacEvitt, 'Christian Authority', p. 78.

to local piety.<sup>28</sup> Another Edessian coin, issued by Joscelin II in the 1130s, makes a similar, although not specifically Armenian point; it has as its type St Thomas, whose body was one of the most deeply venerated relics in Edessa.<sup>29</sup>

Relations between the Armenian Church and the Latins were generally very good. The former had been founded by the apostles Bartholomew and Judas Thaddeus, and the Armenian king was first baptized in the early fourth century. The Armenians were not in communion with Rome or Constantinople, although this broad sense of harmony was said to date back to the special warmth between Pope Sylvester (314–35) and the first *catholicos* or head of the Armenian Church, St Gregory the Illuminator.<sup>30</sup>

In the period of the crusades, the Franks treated the Armenians with complete toleration and allowed them autonomy in their religious organization. Michael the Syrian, the Jacobite patriarch of Antioch 1166 to 1199, commented in his ‘Chronicle’ how well the Latins behaved: ‘The Franks never raised any difficulties about matters of faith, or tried to reach an agreed statement of belief amongst Christians ethnically and linguistically separated. They regarded as Christian anybody who venerated the Cross, without further inquiry’.<sup>31</sup>

There was an Armenian archbishop in Jerusalem, and more pertinently, Edessa was also the seat of an Armenian archbishopric. In 1100, Armenian bishops joined Bohemond in battle against the Danishmendids. Three years later, Patriarch Barsegh and his retinue came to the city of Edessa, where Count Baldwin received him with great honour and then showered him with gifts such as villages, and according to Matthew of Edessa, ‘had a very high regard for the patriarch’.<sup>32</sup> In parallel, the Latin bishops retained their sees even when Prince Leon took control of Cilician Armenia.<sup>33</sup>

As the Frankish settlers consolidated their position in northern Syria and Cilicia, some of the Armenians gravitated towards the Roupenid Leon, who set up an independent principality.<sup>34</sup> At times, there was serious conflict between his lands and the Frankish states of Edessa and Antioch, and Leon took back large areas of Cilicia that had been under Latin control. By the late 1130s, however, both the Franks and the Armenians faced the same external threats, namely the Byzantines and the Muslims of northern Syria under Zengi. Events in the decade prior to the fall of Edessa were the crucial stimulus to the visit by the Armenians to the west in 1145. In contrast to the cordial state of affairs between the Latin and Armenian Churches, relations between the Greek Orthodox and the Armenians were hostile at this time.

28 Ibid.; D.M. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Latin East* (London, 1995), pp. 31–6.

29 Metcalf, *Coinage*, p. 36.

30 Guiragos of Kantzag, ‘Chronicle’, *RHC Arm.* I.417–18.

31 Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, ed. and trans. J.B. Chabot, 4 vols (Paris, 1899–1910), 3.222.

32 Matthew of Edessa, ‘Chronicle’, p.192.

33 B. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States* (London, 1980), pp. 202–3.

34 S. Der Nersessian, ‘The Kingdom of Cilician Armenia’, in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. K.M. Setton, 6 vols (Madison, WI, 1969–89), 2.630–60.

Because the latter did not regard the council of Chalcedon (451) as canonical, the Greeks condemned them as monophysite and heretical. In consequence, there was deep concern about the prospect of Byzantine rule in Armenia and Antioch. As noted above, Emperor John Comnenos invaded Antioch in 1137–38 in his efforts to bring the principality under Greek authority; in the same campaign, he defeated the Rupenids in Cilicia to demonstrate the political threat to the Armenians. The expedition also saw the re-establishment of Orthodox bishops in Cilicia, and John made it plain that he sought to install an Orthodox patriarch in Antioch.

The Franks were also very hostile to the idea of Byzantine supremacy, and sought every means possible to avoid this.<sup>35</sup> Soon after the campaign, there are signs of a closer relationship between the Armenians and the Catholics. There had been contact in the past; Hamilton has shown that in the late eleventh century there was some contact between the two Churches, and Gregory VII raised several points that caused the papacy concern. These included: the Armenians celebrating the eucharist with butter rather than balsam in the holy oils; their veneration of the heresiarch Dionysius as a saint; that they did not receive the first four ecumenical councils; and their continued inclusion of the phrase ‘who was crucified for us’ in the ‘Trisagion’. The pope did, however, commend them for using unleavened bread at the eucharist.<sup>36</sup> It is interesting that the issue of the correct procedures for the rite of the eucharist was raised in 1145.

This *rapprochement* began in earnest at the 1141 synod of Jerusalem, a gathering summoned by Alberic of Ostia, the papal legate to the Holy Land, in early April. It was held just a day after the consecration of the new church of the ‘Templum Domini’, and it is likely that *Catholicos* Gregory III was present at this meeting as well as the synod itself. The whole affair appears to have been extremely cordial. William of Tyre described discussion of ‘matters especially pertinent to the moment’, namely ‘the articles of faith in which his people seemed to differ from us’. As archbishop of Tyre, William may have seen the *acta* of the assembly, and he concluded that ‘the *catholicos* promised reform in many respects’.<sup>37</sup> Samuel of Ani provides a later Armenian report of the synod, and wrote that the *catholicos*’s ‘profession of faith made plain [to the Latins] his perfect orthodoxy’.<sup>38</sup> In the aftermath of the synod, Innocent II wrote to the *catholicos* in September 1141 expressing continued good feeling.<sup>39</sup>

In the context of closer Frankish-Armenian relations, it is also worth remembering that since 1131, the kingdom of Jerusalem had been under the joint rule of Queen Melisende and King Fulk, and when the latter died in 1143, the queen ruled on behalf

<sup>35</sup> J.P. Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land: Relations between the Latin East and the West, 1119–87* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 61–72.

<sup>36</sup> Hamilton, ‘Armenian Church’, pp. 61–3.

<sup>37</sup> WT, p. 699.

<sup>38</sup> Samuel of Ani, ‘Extrait de la Chronographie de Samuel d’Ani’, *RHC Arm.* 1.450.

<sup>39</sup> A.B. Schmidt and P. Halster, ‘Der Brief Papst Innozenz’ II. an den armenischen Katholikos Gregor III.: Ein wenig beachtetes Dokument zur Geschichte der Synode von Jerusalem (Ostern 1141)’, *Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum* 31 (1999), pp. 50–71.

of their young son, Baldwin III. According to a contemporary Syriac author from the kingdom of Jerusalem, Melisende was brought up in the Armenian tradition by her mother, Morphia of Melitene, and was a strong supporter of all the eastern Churches, especially that of her mother.<sup>40</sup> It is probable that after the positive atmosphere of the 1141 synod, and given Melisende's background, the queen was the patron of the rebuilding of the Church of St James, the Armenian cathedral in Jerusalem which was executed in an Armenian style with a centralized plan and six-ribbed double dome.<sup>41</sup>

In 1142, Emperor John attacked Antioch for a second time, coming perilously close to seizing the city; only his death in a hunting accident in early 1143 prevented a renewed assault. Even then, it was merely another year before his successor, Manuel, ordered a sizeable invasion that comprised land and naval forces and took several castles, defeated the Antiochenes in battle, captured some of their troops and destroyed some of their ships. One effect of this powerful raid was to compel Prince Raymond to travel to Constantinople in person – an enormous humiliation – and beg the tomb of John for forgiveness and become Manuel's vassal.<sup>42</sup> Thus the prospect of Greek Orthodox domination loomed ever larger, and must have encouraged the Armenians to engage with the Latins to help protect their Church.

It was not just the threat from Byzantium that pushed the Armenians towards the Franks, but also the growing strength of the Muslims of northern Syria. In 1137, Zengi had routed the settlers at the Battle of Montferrand (Ba'rin) and captured Ma'arrat an-Nu'man and Kafartab; the following year, he took Atharib. By 1138, he was bearing the title 'the fighter of *jihad*, the defender of the frontier, the tamer of the polytheists and the destroyer of the heretics'.<sup>43</sup> The danger from the Muslims was to reach an unprecedented level with Zengi's siege of Edessa in late 1144. William of Tyre described the population of the city as 'native Chaldeans and peaceful Armenians', which meant that their protection was in the hands of mercenaries, who had not been paid.<sup>44</sup> William also related that Count Joscelin II preferred to relax in the safety of his castle at Turbessel and shunned his responsibilities towards Edessa. Combined with an ongoing feud between Joscelin and Count Raymond of Antioch, this perilous situation led to Zengi making an opportunist attack on the city in November 1144. With Joscelin absent, it fell to the ecclesiastical hierarchy to lead the defence, and John, the Armenian bishop worked bravely alongside the Latin archbishop, Hugh. After 28 days, Zengi's skilful use of mines gained him access to

40 A. Palmer, 'The History of the Syrian Orthodox in Jerusalem', *Oriens Christianus* 75 (1991), pp. 75, 79.

41 J. Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098–1197* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 247.

42 John Kinnamos, *The Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus*, trans. C.M. Brand (New York, NY, 1976), pp. 31–6.

43 C. Hillenbrand, 'The Career of Zengi', in *The Second Crusade: Scope and Consequences*, ed. J.P. Phillips and M. Hoch (Manchester, 2001), pp. 117, 124.

44 WT, p. 718.

the city, and his men poured in and slaughtered many of the inhabitants, including Hugh.<sup>45</sup>

The loss of Edessa was obviously a huge blow to the Franks, and triggered embassies to the west that resulted in the Second Crusade.<sup>46</sup> It is easy to forget, however, that the advance of the Islamic holy war must have been viewed with considerable alarm by the Armenians as well, both in the Church hierarchy and in the secular sphere. The year 1144 saw serious setbacks for the Franks and the Armenians in northern Syria at the hands of both the Byzantines and the Muslims; in light of the good relations established in 1141, the time was ripe for the Armenians and the Latins to move closer. It should be noted that Otto of Freising mentioned that the Armenian envoys took eighteen months to reach Viterbo.<sup>47</sup> This seems unrealistically long, but even if correct, it would mean they set out prior to the fall of Edessa and, possibly before Raymond of Antioch's visit to Constantinople. None the less, the growing strength of the Byzantine and Muslim positions in northern Syria was already obvious, and it is wholly likely that the envoys would have learned of these important events in the course of their travels, providing even greater impetus to their mission.

To further bolster the notion of a particularly warm rapport between the Latins and the Armenians at the time of the Second Crusade, two important pieces of evidence from northern Syria need to be added to the discussion. The most telling indication of the Armenians' attitude towards the Catholic west can be seen in the content of Nersēs Šnorhali's contemporary 'Lament on Edessa'.<sup>48</sup> Its author, subsequently known as Saint Nersēs the Gracious, would later become the *catholicos* himself, but he had already been present at the Church councils of Antioch in 1140 and Jerusalem in 1141.<sup>49</sup> The 'Lament' was written between May and August 1146 in response to Zengi's capture of Edessa, and was, amongst other things, an elegy to the fall of the city.<sup>50</sup> It contained, however, several ideas that were highly relevant to the crusade and to contact between the Armenians and Rome; importantly, these issues fit neatly with the tenor of Otto of Freising's report. Nersēs was not writing for a western audience, but his message would certainly have been well received in the papal curia, and there was a strong ecumenical sense within his work:

45 Ibid. pp. 718–21.

46 Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land*, pp. 74–6.

47 Otto of Freising, *Chronica*, p. 333.

48 Nersēs Šnorhali, 'Lament on Edessa', trans. T.M. Van Lint, in *East and West in the Crusader States II*, ed. K. Ciggaar and H. Teule, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 92 (Leuven, 1999), pp. 49–105.

49 Ibid., p. 33.

50 Van Lint dates the text between January and September 1146, but given that the author clearly knew of the coming of the Second Crusade, and that news of that expedition could not have reached the Levant before May 1146, the date of composition should be adjusted appropriately.

Lament, O churches,  
 Brides of the upper room,  
 My beloved sisters and brothers,  
 you, who can be found on all sides of the Earth,  
 Cities and villages all together,  
 peoples and generations all over the world,  
 Believers in Christ,  
 worshippers of His cross.<sup>51</sup>

There was also a very positive series of references to Rome:

And you, Rome, Mother of Cities,  
 Brilliant above all and honourable,  
 You throne of the great Peter,  
 first among the apostles,  
 You immovable church,  
 built on the rock of Cephas ...<sup>52</sup>

Given the dating and content of the text, it is highly likely that Nersēs' work was informed by the return from Italy of the delegation that had met Eugenius and Otto; more importantly, it carried news of the crusade. In the final stages of the elegy, there is clear reference to the forthcoming expedition and the hopes that the Armenians placed in that enterprise:

And you prisoners who are locked up,  
 the Lord will set you free among the free ones,  
 and he will exchange  
 my captivity, my exile for a home again,  
 And he will smack my captivator,  
 Sword and prison for him, instead of you.  
 Anew the Frank is on the move,  
 Unfathomable numbers of horsemen and footsoldiers.  
 Like the waves – wave upon wave – of the sea  
 in anger and ferocious fury ...  
 The whole of the Muhammaden nation  
 they will sack and fall upon.<sup>53</sup>

The writer develops this last theme to an ever-greater intensity, building up to a threat to the *Kaaba* itself, the most sacred Islamic pilgrim shrine, into which is built the black stone believed to have been given by Gabriel to Abraham and which is the direction of Muslim prayer. To make such a specific – if over-ambitious – threat as this, Nerses evidently had a far stronger grasp of the Islamic faith than his western contemporaries:

51 Nerses, 'Lament', p. 49.

52 *Ibid.*, p. 50.

53 *Ibid.*, pp. 100–101.

Babel they will utterly reduce to rubble,  
 And the desert, inhabited by devils,  
 Mecca, they will raze to the ground,  
 That which is devoid of all goodness,  
 empty of divine water,  
 Where the Lord sent out all the demons,  
 which He drove out.  
 The stone, the black one, they will roll,  
 and throw to the bottom of the Red Sea.<sup>54</sup>

Even if Otto of Freising misjudged the exact nature of the embassy in 1145, the Armenians' wishes to form closer ties with Rome may well have been prompted by the feeling that the papacy, through a new crusade, could be induced to help the Christian position in northern Syria and bring relief to the Armenian population. Certainly, the 'Lament' leaves no doubt as to the brutality of Zengi's sack of the city, and was a serious attempt to depict his actions as inhuman:

They [the Muslims] poured the blood of the saints over the earth,  
 like streams of water in a river,  
 Priest and common folk alike  
 were butchered.<sup>55</sup>

As we have seen, the Armenians' hopes for action were realized because *Quantum praedecessores* explicitly asked crusaders 'to defend in this way the eastern Church' and Eugenius argued against 'the abandonment of the eastern Church'.<sup>56</sup> In other words, the crusade would provide vital protection and a response to the threat of Zengi for the whole of the region.

Furthermore, the fact that the expedition originally intended to fight at Edessa, as Conrad III's letter of February 1148 explicitly stated, means that assisting the Armenians probably formed a hitherto ignored aspect of the Second Crusade. It was an entirely logical element of the campaign, and would be of benefit to both the Armenian Church and Rome.<sup>57</sup>

In the period between the launch of *Quantum praedecessores* and the arrival of the Second Crusade in northern Syria in 1148, Frankish-Armenian relations continued in a positive vein. In late 1146, Count Joscelin led an attempt to recapture Edessa. The Armenians inside the city helped him enter the city, but the citadel resisted strongly. In the mean time, Muslim relief forces arrived; Joscelin fled, and the city was given over to looting and slaughter. Many of the indigenous Christians were killed, and the Armenian archbishop was sold into slavery in Aleppo.<sup>58</sup> Ultimately, however, the

54 Ibid., p. 101.

55 Ibid., p. 77.

56 Eugenius III, 'Quantum praedecessores', p. 91.

57 Conrad III, *Die Urkunden der Deutschen Könige und Kaiser*, ed. F. Hausmann, *MGH Diplomata 9* (Vienna, Cologne and Graz, 1969), no. 195, p. 355.

58 Segal, *Edessa*, pp. 251–4.

diversion of the crusade southwards in the spring of 1148 put an end to the challenge to Muslim power in northern Syria, and the impetus of a papally inspired expedition liberating Armenian lands caused any prospect of religious settlement to fade. The damage to papal authority in the west meant that there was no effort from the west to build upon the embassy of 1145. From the Armenians' viewpoint, the outcome of the crusade meant that they could not, in the short term at least, look to Europe for military or spiritual support.

The Second Crusade can be characterized as an enormously ambitious expression of the confidence of the Catholic Church in the mid-twelfth century.<sup>59</sup> Campaigns against the pagans of the Baltic region, the Muslims on the east and west coasts of the Iberian peninsula, as well as the attempt to subdue Islam in the Levant demonstrate this. To this might be added the possibility of creating closer ties between the Armenian Church and Rome. From the papal perspective, the securing of some recognition from the Armenians was a great coup, and must have been very attractive to the curia. In connection with this, we should also note Otto's comments in the 'Gesta Frederici', written between 1156 and 1158, where he mentioned the crusade as having the potential to extend papal authority over other Churches:

He [Eugenius] pondering upon the example set by his predecessor – namely, the fact that Urban, on an occasion of this sort, had won back into the unity of peace the Church across the water and two patriarchal sees (of Antioch and Jerusalem) that had cut themselves off from obedience to the Roman see – gave his assent to the wishes of the aforesaid king [Louis VII of France] for extending the observance of the Christian faith.<sup>60</sup>

This expansionist mentality may also have contributed towards a desire on the part of the papacy to offer help to the Armenians as a part of the appeal for the new crusade. The stimulus for this came from the Armenians and whilst outright submission may not have been intended by the delegation, their presence seems to have been positively welcomed in the papal curia; such a move undoubtedly fitted into the aspirations of those at the head of the crusading movement in the autumn of 1145.

59 See Phillips, *Second Crusade*.

60 Otto of Freising, *Gesta Frederici seu rectius cronica*, ed. A. Schmidt, trans. F.-J. Schmale (Darmstadt, 1965), p. 200, translation from *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*, trans. C.C. Mierow (New York, NY, 1953), pp. 70–71.

## Chapter 5

# The Admirable Enemy? Saladin and Saphadin in Ambroise's *Estoire de la guerre sainte*

Marianne J. Ailes

At the end of the twelfth century, the Norman chronicler Ambroise wrote his *Estoire de la guerre sainte* shortly after the events of the Third Crusade which it recounts.<sup>1</sup> He would undoubtedly have believed, like the poet of the earlier *Chanson de Roland* (c. 1100), that the Saracens are wrong and the Christians are right (l. 1,015). Such uncompromising faith in the rightness, indeed righteousness, of Christianity does not mean that he would have considered Christians 'nice' and Saracens 'nasty'. The depiction of the racial and religious Other in medieval literature was rarely this simplistic, nor was the other always regarded as irredeemably Other. This paper will explore Ambroise's depiction of the Saracens, in particular their leaders, Saladin and his brother Saphadin, in its literary context. The chronicler's presentation of the religious and military enemy is shaped by his didactic intention, to show God at work in the crusade, and his concern to depict Richard the Lion-Heart as hero.<sup>2</sup>

Ambroise inherited a developing literary tradition of the presentation of the Saracen, by which term was designated both Arab and Turk, or any non-Christian. We know that Ambroise was familiar with the *chanson de geste* tradition, and as a cleric, he would no doubt have been aware of the Latin chronicle tradition;<sup>3</sup> there is no evidence that he knew the few vernacular chronicles which had been written.<sup>4</sup> By the time he was compiling his text, the concept of the noble Saracen

1 A. Ailes and M. Barber, eds, *The History of the Holy War: Ambroise's 'Estoire de la guerre sainte'*, 2 vols (Woodbridge, 2003); line references are to the edition (vol. 1), page references to the translation (vol. 2).

2 M.J. Ailes, 'Heroes of War: Ambroise's Heroes of the Third Crusade', in *Writing War: Medieval Literary Responses to Warfare*, ed. C. Saunders, F. Le Saux and N. Thomas (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 29–48; B. Levy, 'Pèlerins rivaux de la 3e croisade: les personnages des rois d'Angleterre et de France d'après les chroniques d'Ambroise et d'Ernoul, et le récit anglo-normand de *La Croisade et Mort Richard Coeur de Lion*', in *La Croisade – Actes du Colloque d'Amiens* (Göppingen, 1989), pp. 143–55.

3 On Ambroise's identity, see Ailes and Barber, eds, *The History of the Holy War*, 2.1–2.

4 On the *Estoire*'s place in literary history, see Ailes and Barber, eds, *The History of the Holy War*, 2.20–23; cf. G. Paris, ed., *L'Estoire de la guerre sainte par Ambroise*, Documents

was developing as a literary *topos*. As early as the *Chanson de Roland*, it is evident that some individual Saracens had the potential to be noble, if only they converted to Christianity.<sup>5</sup> The *Gesta Francorum*, contemporaneous with the *Roland*, clearly represents the Saracens as noble and worthy enemies.<sup>6</sup> From around the time of the Third Crusade, *chansons de geste* depict noble Saracens, their nobility often indicating that conversion will follow; there are even a few respected Saracens who do not convert.<sup>7</sup>

Paul Bancourt considers that it is to the *chanson de geste* tradition that we must look when we are considering the portrayal of the Saracens and their leaders in Ambroise's account, a conclusion linked to his conviction that Ambroise was a *jongleur*.<sup>8</sup> Whilst it seems more likely that Ambroise was a cleric,<sup>9</sup> the main vernacular models available to him for the telling of a historical tale would have been the *chansons de geste*.

As a 'pilgrim' among the followers of Richard I of England, Ambroise would also have been aware of the ever-shifting reputation of the Saracen leader, Saladin. Since the time of the Third Crusade, Saladin has epitomized the noble enemy in western eyes, to the extent that instead of consigning him to Hell, Dante places him in Limbo.<sup>10</sup> However, the very earliest depictions of Saladin in the west were not so positive. Whilst there is no evidence that Ambroise knew any particular account of Saladin's rise to power, he did know about the disastrous (for the Christians) battle of the Horns of Hattin.<sup>11</sup> Having united the Islamic world, Saladin represented a threat to the Christian one. Ambroise's account was written at a turning-point in the presentation and perception of Saladin. He was also an eyewitness to the Third Crusade, exposed to the opinions circulating among the crusading army, and no doubt a witness to acts of both barbarism and heroism.

This is the literary and historical context in which any analysis of Ambroise's portrayal of the Saracen leaders must be read. Before considering the two leaders,

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inédits sur l'histoire de France (Paris, 1897), pp. vi–xii, and P. Bancourt, 'De l'image épique à la représentation historique du musulman dans *L'Estoire de la guerre sainte d'Ambroise*', in *Au carrefour des routes d'Europe: La chanson de geste*, 2 vols (Publications de CUER MA, Aix-en-Provence, 1987), pp. 223–35. Whilst I do not see the *Estoire* as a hybrid genre, part *chanson de geste* and part history, it is clear that Ambroise was familiar with the *chansons de geste*.

5 M.J. Ailes, 'Chivalry and Conversion: The Chivalrous Saracen in the Old French Epics *Fierabras* and *Otnel*', *Al-Masaq* 9 (1996–97), pp. 1–21.

6 M. Bennett, 'First Crusaders' Images of Muslims: The Influence of Vernacular Poetry', *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 22 (1986), pp. 101–22.

7 M.J. Ailes, 'Tolerated Otherness: The Unconverted Saracen in the *chanson de geste*', forthcoming in *Languages of Love and Hate* (Brepols); *eadem*, 'Chivalry and Conversion'.

8 Bancourt, 'De l'image épique', p. 224.

9 See note 4 above.

10 Dante, *Inferno*, canto IV, l. 129; M. Jubb, *The Legend of Saladin in Western Literature and Historiography*, *Studies in Comparative Literature* 34 (Lampeter, 2000), p. 236.

11 The battle is referred to in ll. 2,484–525.

it is worth pausing to examine how he depicts the Saracens as a people. There are few extended descriptions of the enemy army, only scattered references to the fact that they were lightly armed and therefore more agile than the westerners, or slightly exotic descriptions of ships; of the men themselves little is said beyond standard denigrating epithets such as 'la gent haie', 'the hated race' (for example, l. 3,990, p. 87), or 'la chenaille', 'a pack of curs' (l. 3,944, p. 86), or even 'le felon Sarazin culvert' (l. 6,029, p. 114). They are called cruel (for example, l. 2,873, p. 73), but in any war it is easy to consider the acts of the enemy in this light. Acts of extortion and selling of captives no doubt indicate real conditions. Bancourt considers that Ambroise has 'emprunté des formules, qu'il a décrit les musulmans selon les stéréotypes de la chanson de geste', while at the same time portraying a more accurate and more sympathetic portrait.<sup>12</sup> However, the use Ambroise makes of the *chanson de geste* tradition in this portrayal of the Saracen host is limited. For Bancourt, the numerical inequality of the Saracens and Christians, showing that the latter put their faith in God rather than in numerical superiority, recalls the *chanson de geste Aspremont*; but it could equally be an allusion to the biblical story of Gideon, or simply be based on fact.<sup>13</sup> Hubert Walter, bishop of Salisbury, later archbishop of Canterbury, writing to King Richard I of England about men leaving both the Christian and the Saracen armies, wrote: 'the Christians trusting in the strength of Christ, hope that they can maintain their efforts ...'.<sup>14</sup> Ambroise knows the *chansons de geste* and makes direct allusion to them, but for the most part he chooses not to use its conventions in his portrayal of the Saracen. They are infidels, an accursed race, but there is no monstrous Other such as we might find in the *chansons de geste*, though even these epic tales have a more extensive repertory of types.<sup>15</sup> The enemy are other, but not Other. They are the enemy, but not fundamentally different from the Christians; they remain human, not demonized.

From the hordes, a few individuals stand out, mostly in Saladin's councils, which (like the Saracens' councils in the *chansons de geste*) parallel those in the Christian camp. We see, for example, a 'Turk from a distant land' who dared to speak up against Saladin (ll. 11,632–44, p. 185). But only Saladin and Saphadin are given extended treatment.

Much of what we see of Saladin is remarkably neutral. We see his generalship: he may be sending his men through the countryside (ll. 2,491–3, p. 67) or summoning men from his nine realms (ll. 2,517–18, p. 68), or simply striking camp (l. 3,986, p. 87). Such everyday actions of a military leader are simply narrated, neither applauded nor criticized. Ambroise even passes no comment on Saladin's expression

12 Bancourt, 'De l'image épique', p. 224.

13 Ambroise refers to characters from *Aspremont* in ll. 526, 4,182, 8,471–3, but that does not mean that *Aspremont* is his main source for the portrayal of Saracens.

14 P. Edbury, ed., *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade: Sources in Translation* (Aldershot, 1996), p. 172.

15 Ailes, 'Tolerated Otherness'.

of pleasure at the prospect of killing Christians (ll. 2,798–800) and his sense of glory (l. 2,879).

Ambroise first introduces Saladin in the treaty he makes with the emperor of Cyprus. The emperor is introduced as a tyrant (*tirant*), tending towards evil ('a mal tirant'), 'more treacherous and more evil than Judas or Ganelon' (ll. 1,384–5), an 'intimate friend of Saladin' (l. 1,386):

1,388 E si diseit l'em sanz dotance  
 Qu'il aveient por aliance  
 L[i] uns de l'autre sanc beü  
 Et si fud puis de veir seü  
 Issi se fist empereür –  
 Nel fist pas – mais empireür,  
 Car sei meïsmes empeirot  
 Onques qu'il peüst ne finot  
 De mal feire e porchacer ...

It was said with some certainty that they had drunk each other's blood as a sign of their alliance, and this was later known to be true. So he had made himself emperor, not truly imperial but imperior, for he did much harm ... (pp. 50–51)

In this negative context, Ambroise is more concerned with the emperor than with Saladin, showing the emperor's disloyalty to his fellow Christians. What we also see here is the range of Ambroise's models, as he compares the emperor to both the biblical traitor Judas and the *chanson de geste* traitor Ganelon. The discourse being used here is not that of the *chanson de geste*, but that of the cleric trained in classical rhetoric, making puns on the homophonous *tirant* (noun – l. 1,382) and *tirant* (present participle – l. 1,383), and making up the word *empireür*, 'one who makes things worse' (l. 1,393), to form a punning rhyme with *empereür* 'emperor' (l. 1,392). Ambroise is vitriolic, possibly because there was something personal in the hatred between the emperor and Richard I, which Ambroise expresses in more absolute and idealized terms. In suggesting that Saladin and the emperor are blood-brothers, Ambroise goes further in his expression of suspicion against the Cypriot ruler than others. In other chronicles, the blood-drinking accusation is associated with Raymond of Tripoli.<sup>16</sup>

Any treaty with Saladin reflected badly on a Christian, but in Ambroise such condemnation stems not from any inherent characteristics of Saladin, but from his status as the enemy. When Raymond of Tripoli makes overtures towards Saladin, Ambroise concentrates on his treason, not Saladin's scheming. Shortly after the taking of Cyprus by Richard, Ambroise relates the suspected dealings of Raymond of Tripoli with Saladin. Ambroise calls this *traïson* (l. 2,469), and states absolutely that this led to the loss of the Holy Cross and the suffering of Christianity (ll. 2,470–71, p. 67). In both these cases, it is taken for granted that Saladin would want to seduce those who should be allies of the Christians – and perhaps this is

16 Jubb, *The Legend of Saladin*, pp. 133–4.

criticism enough. The real villains are the Christian traitors. It is not necessary to look for literary models for this condemnation. Ganelon's treachery may have been in Ambroise's mind as he recounted this – but the historical facts would be sufficient source material.<sup>17</sup>

Much later, both Saladin and the marquis of Montferrat are criticized for their dealings with one another. Conrad of Montferrat, we are told, had agreed to a 'villainous' peace with Saladin, which would harm God (l. 8,657). Saladin's own brother objects:

8,670 Ceste pais volt Salehadins  
 Mais li admirazlz Safadins  
 Ne la volt onques creanter –  
 Ainz oïmes après conter  
 Que il dist al soldan son frere,  
 'Sire, ne place a Deu le pere  
 Que pais a la cristienté  
 Por nului qui vos ait tempté  
 Façoiz sanz le roi d'Engletere –  
 Meillor cristien n'a en terre ...'

Saladin desired this peace, but the Emir Saphadin did not wish to grant it. We heard it said afterwards that he said to his brother the sultan, 'My lord, let it not please God the Father that the Christians have peace on account of any man who tempts you [to it], except the king of England – there is no better Christian ...' (p. 148)

That Saphadin disapproves of his brother's dealings here is a strong indicator that, in Ambroise's eyes, it is not justifiable – even from the Saracens' perspective. The treaty they conclude is roundly condemned as a 'filthy and unclean peace' (l. 8,691, p. 149). At the same time, the words attributed to Saphadin pave the way for a future peace with Richard. Ambroise was not, of course, an eyewitness to any meetings between Saladin and his brother, but here he provides himself with one: 'it was known all over, for Stephen of Turnham had been sent to Jerusalem ...' (pp. 148–9).

There is in the whole of the *Estoire* a strong sense of Saladin as the unconscious instrument of God, rather like the Assyrians and Babylonians in the Old Testament; this was a common way of presenting Saladin in western accounts.<sup>18</sup> Thus, for example, Ambroise also makes it clear that Saladin only prospers because 'it was God's will to work through these means to bring back His people who had gone astray' (ll. 5,502–4, p. 108). Though Saladin is not mentioned in the prologue, it is

17 Bancourt, 'De l'image épique', pp. 228–9 considers the significance of Ganelon's treachery; in the *Chanson de Roland*, as here, the emphasis is on the Christian traitor, not on the Saracens' cunning.

18 Jubb, *The Legend of Saladin*, p. 10, and, for example, see H.J. Nicholson, ed., *Chronicle of the Third Crusade: A Translation of the Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi* (Ashgate, 1997), 1:1, 1:16.

stated that all that happens to the Christians was in order 'to bring to Himself his people whom He had redeemed and who at that time served Him not at all' (ll. 32–4, p. 29).

Ambroise presents a human Saladin, a man with emotions, opinions, even passions. Whilst some of his actions are presented negatively (see below), his emotional response to events is not. The scenes depicting Saladin's anger or sense of loss are imaginative reconstructions of what might have happened; whilst Ambroise often takes great pains to tell us how he knows of events among the Saracens, this can amount to hearsay. When he describes Saladin, on hearing of the loss of a ship, pulling 'his beard three times out of sorrow' while the Turks 'cut off their hair and ripped their clothes' (ll. 2,291–2, p. 65), he tells us that 'we are told by those who saw it' (l. 2,290, p. 65); Ambroise is dramatizing. Here the natural emotion is expressed using the externalizing technique of the *chanson de geste*, where characters' emotions are depicted through their actions. Saladin rails against his God, like many a Saracen emir in the *chansons de geste*, but Ambroise favours fact over literary convention, so Saladin does not destroy idols or worship a trinity of gods; Ambroise, unlike the singers of the *chansons de geste*, does not depict his Saracens as pagans. Where Ambroise exploits the *chanson de geste* tradition, he does so carefully and with major modification.<sup>19</sup>

Clearly reconstructed are the long rhetorical speeches that Saladin makes to his men when they have failed to fulfil their mission. In one he expresses his anger in the following speech:

6,768 E ou est ore ma maisnee  
 La va[n]teresse, la enragiee? ...  
 6,774 Ou sunt ore les granz menaces ...  
 6,778 Ou sunt les riches començailles ...  
 6,780 Ou sont les grant desconfitures ...?

So, where is my beautiful, furious entourage? ... Now where are the threats ...? Where are the beginnings of rich conquests? ... Where are the great defeats ...? (p. 123)

Again he exploits a literary tradition, taking the classical *ubi sunt topos*, using it to shape the speech, but applying it to a current situation rather than mourning the passing of an era. This carefully constructed speech must be read in the same way as other dialogue and set-pieces of the chronicle – as dramatized reconstructions of how it could have been. Bancourt links this with the reproaches made to his emirs by the Saracen Aumont in *Aspremont*.<sup>20</sup> This may be one of Ambroise's models here, but whilst Aumont at several points mocks his emirs, he does not use the specific *topos* of *ubi sunt*. There is no pretence that any of the set-pieces in the *Estoire* are

19 Compare the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum*, which at this point is very close to Ambroise: Saladin calls out to his God, but does not blame him. On the relationship between the *Itinerarium* and Ambroise, see Nicholson, ed., *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, pp. 12–13.

20 Bancourt, 'De l'image épique', p. 227.

the exact words of the protagonists; rather they express a reasonable response to a given situation. In the case of Saladin's scathing attack on his own men, there is no criticism from Ambroise, but one of his own men does speak up, saying that 'no one should trust in his anger and rage as you do' (ll. 6,865-6, p. 125). On two further occasions he mocks his own men (ll. 11,216-23, p. 180; ll. 11,626-31, p. 185); each time, someone stands up to him.

If much of this presentation of Saladin as a leader can be seen as largely neutral, other aspects are more clearly negative. Perhaps most seriously of all for a warrior-leader, he appears to have little personal courage. On several occasions he does not dare to take action which might have secured victory. When the Christians are marching on Ramla (l. 7,446, p. 132), we are told that he does 'not dare fight', and even that he was the first to turn in flight (l. 7,448, p. 133). Some 150 lines later, he retreats to Jerusalem (ll. 7,591-604, pp. 134-5). Later, he flees Jerusalem, 'not daring to stay' (ll. 9,848-54, p. 164). We are invited to compare Saladin's behaviour with that of Richard as the king camps 'where Saladin had not dared await him' (ll. 11,204-7, p. 180).

All of this adds up to a leader who is less than impressive on the battlefield and contrasts with Richard I, who is criticized for risking his skin too much.<sup>21</sup> The picture thus given of Saladin corresponds to Richard's own view of him as seen in a letter sent to the abbot of Clairvaux, dated 1 October 1191. After giving a brief account of his victory at Ars-sur-Siagne, Richard tells the abbot that '... since his defeat that day Saladin has not dared do battle with the Christians'.<sup>22</sup>

The real turning-point in the presentation of Saladin is the siege of Acre and its consequences. After the fall of Acre, Richard, in one of the most infamous acts of the Third Crusade, has 2,700 hostages, men, women and children, put to death:<sup>23</sup>

21 Ailes, 'Heroes of War', pp. 39-40.

22 Ebdury, ed., *The Conquest of Jerusalem*, p. 180.

23 The number of hostages massacred was 2,600 according to Richard's letter to the abbot of Clairvaux, and 16,000 according to the *Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr*, whilst the Arab historian Baha ad-Din estimates 'more than 3,000 men in chains': F. Gabrieli, ed., *Arab Historians of the Crusades* (London, 1969), p. 224.

5,506 Quant li reis Richarz ot seü  
 De verité, et aconseü  
 Sen dotance, verai[e]ment,  
 Que ço n'iert fors delaiemment,  
 Que Salahadins lui fesoit,  
 Mais lui grevoit et despleisoit  
 Qu'il n'aveit ja l'ost esmetü;  
 E quant il ot l'ovre seüe  
 Qu'il nient plus ne l'en fereit  
 Ne qu'il cels ne regardereit  
 Qui Acre leur eurent guardee,  
 Si fud la chose esguardee  
 A un concile ou assemblerent  
 Li halt home qui esguarderent  
 Que des Sarazins ocirent  
 Le plus ...

5,524 E Richarz li reis de Engletere ...

5526 Ne volt plus sa teste debatre,  
 Mais por l'orgoil des Turs abatre,  
 E por lor lei desaëngier,  
 E por cristienté vengier,  
 En fist mener hors de la vile  
 Toz liez, .vii.c. et deus mile,  
 Qui trestuit furent detrenchié.

When King Richard knew for sure and realized without doubt that in truth Saladin was only putting him off, he was then very annoyed and displeased ... And when he knew that Saladin would do nothing more for him and that he had no care for those who had defended Acre for him, then was the matter examined at a council where the great men gathered and decided that they would kill most of the Saracens ... Richard ... did not wish to worry his head about it any more, but [in order to] bring down the pride of the Turks, disgrace their religion and avenge Christianity, he brought out of the town, in bonds, two thousand and seven hundred people who were all slaughtered. (p. 108)

Ambroise is keen to exculpate Richard; to do so, he shifts the blame onto Saladin for not keeping his side of the treaty of surrender. There is no need to link this to the 'perfidie du Sarrasin'<sup>24</sup> of the *chanson de geste*; it is a matter of expediency. Earlier in the siege, Saladin had failed to turn up when he was expected. His banner is flown, but it is his brother, Saphadin, who is fighting (ll. 4,841–60, p. 99). As the siege progresses, the besieged negotiate with Saladin for help. He takes counsel, which leads ultimately to the surrender of Acre (ll. 5,098–191, pp. 103–4). Saladin is not overtly criticized by Ambroise for his role here; he is shown to be anxious to limit the sufferings of his people, as 'knowing the suffering in Acre ... he agreed to the surrender of the town when it could no longer be defended' (p. 104).<sup>25</sup> His subsequent

24 Bancourt, 'De l'image épique', p. 229.

25 M.R. Morgan, ed., *La Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr* (Paris, 1982), para. 123; the English trans. in Edbury, ed., *The Conquest of Jerusalem*, p. 106, has him state more baldly

failure to relieve the hostages is, however, criticized in strong terms. Saladin, who had previously been described ambiguously as *saives*, 'wise' or 'cunning' (l. 2,611), is now seen to act, unambiguously, 'in a false and treacherous manner' (l. 5,487, p. 107). The main reason for this criticism is quite clear. Ambroise has to explain why Richard is driven to commit what today would be seen as a war crime; it is evident in the way Ambroise and other contemporaries present this that even by the standards of the Middle Ages, this is seen as an atrocity. Richard himself, in the letter to the abbot of Clairvaux quoted above, took pains to justify his actions:<sup>26</sup>

But the time-limit expired and, as the pact which he had agreed was entirely made void  
we quite properly had the Saracens that we had in custody, about 2,600 of them, put to  
death.

From this point on, Ambroise is more critical of Saladin, but this leaves him with a problem. Already at the end of the twelfth century, Saladin is gaining a reputation; myths and legends are becoming associated with him. Ambroise must reconcile this with the leader who abandons his people to death. One way he does this is by using Saladin's brother, Saphadin, as his *alter ego*, presenting Saphadin as the nobler brother, and thus allowing Saladin to take the blame.

Saphadin is presented by Ambroise as Saladin's right-hand man, closely associated with his brother. The very first mention of Saphadin shows him acting as his brother's agent, having sent to Acre a ship full of Saladin's men (p. 62):

2,138 Une nef al rei aparut  
Plaine des genz Salahadin  
Chargié fud par Saffadin

The next mention is in a description of the Saracen encampment (p. 65):

2,317 Vit les tentes Salahadin  
2,318 E les son frere Saphadin

Even the versification is used to stress the close relationship between the two brothers. Their names, very similar in French, rhyme in each of these first two allusions to Saphadin. It is, as we have noted, Saphadin and his men who turn up in Saladin's place to help at the siege of Acre. Later, he would be charged with the destruction of various towns (ll. 6,826–60, p. 124). Saphadin may carry out the destruction, but it is on Saladin's orders.

On two occasions, Saphadin is seen to act separately from his brother. We have already noted his opposition to the treaty with Conrad. Ambroise includes, towards the end of the *Estoire*, at a point when he needs to pave the way for an honourable peace, the legend of the gift-horse, based on a historical gift of two horses by Saphadin to

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that he 'could not rescue them and they should do the best they could'.

26 Edbury, ed., *The Conquest of Jerusalem*, pp. 179–80.

Richard in 1192;<sup>27</sup> here too Saphadin acts independently. Saphadin offers the horses to Richard, 'because of his valiant deeds ... and because of his boldness ...' (ll. 11,522–3, p. 184). In some chronicles, the gift is a trap, the gift-horse (or horses) being trained to throw the rider, or to return to the Saracen camp.<sup>28</sup> For Ambroise, it is an opportunity to show Richard in a good light while at the same time Saphadin, Saladin's *alter ego*, or even his better half, is also highly praised.

Like his brother, Saphadin is described as 'sage' (l. 7,377, p. 131) in the way he carries out negotiations with Richard on Saladin's behalf. In the course of these negotiations, Richard is sent generous presents, then as now a normal part of international diplomacy. Association with the enemy was seen as treacherous in the Christian army, and Richard was much criticized for accepting the gifts from the Saracens. Bancourt sees this whole scene as another reminiscence of the *chansons de geste*, though this is not a common motif in the *chansons de geste*; it is only in the *Chanson de Roland* that any Christian accepts such gifts.<sup>29</sup> Bancourt explains both Ambroise's lack of reference to earlier negotiations between Saladin and Richard, and the present receiving episode, as Ambroise acting *en trouvere*,<sup>30</sup> using the *topos* of Saracen leaders who are treacherous, and ignoring dealings between the leaders because of the potential links to Ganelon's treachery. However, we do not need to go beyond Ambroise's own text to see why such dealings might be ignored (assuming that Ambroise was aware of them). As we have seen, Ambroise uses dealings with Saladin to portray other Christian leaders negatively. He cannot reasonably show Richard dealing with Saladin. Here he uses the same principle as when he puts the blame on Saladin for the massacre of the hostages at Acrc; when Richard accepts presents from Saphadin, it is the two Muslim leaders who are criticized:

27 Jubb, *The Legend of Saladin*, p. 151; Bancourt, 'De l'image épique', pp. 230–31.

28 For example, Morgan, ed., *Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr*, para. 140.

29 Bancourt, 'De l'image épique', p. 228; see also Jubb, *The Legend of Saladin*, p. 151.

30 Bancourt, 'De l'image épique', p. 229.

7,376 E il [Salahadin] manda par Saffadin  
 Son frere, un sage Sarazin ...

7,386 Mais li rois ne se gardot mie  
 De la fause gent enemie  
 Qui le detrichent e teneient  
 Por les chastels qu'il abataient,  
 E le serveient de losenge.  
 Lor acointement mal chief prenge!  
 Car Saffadin tant le deçut  
 Que li reis ses presenz reçut.  
 Messagers vindrent e alerent  
 Qui les presenz al rei porterent,  
 Dont il fud blasmé durement  
 E en parola malement.  
 Mais Saffadins lui fist entendre  
 Qu[é] il voleit a la pais tendre,  
 E li reis tost la pais preïst  
 Qui henoree lui feïst  
 Por eshaucier nostre creance  
 E por ço que li reis de France  
 S[en] iert alé don't il ot dote ...

He sent word by his brother, Saphadin, a wise Saracen ... But the king did not distrust these false enemies; [he did not realize] that they tricked him and delayed him while they destroyed the castles and deceived him. Let such a liaison come to a bad end. For Saphadin so deceived the king that he accepted his gifts. Messengers came and went, bringing these gifts to the king, for which he was much blamed and criticised. However, Saphadin gave him to understand that he truly wanted peace and the king would at once have accepted any peace that was honourable to increase our faith and because of the departure of the king of France whom he feared ... (pp. 131-2)

Richard is exculpated; Saladin is blamed; Saphadin is also criticized, but is essentially his brother's mouthpiece, and therefore distanced from the intention to deceive. Ambroise conveniently forgets all this later when he would praise Saphadin for another gift – the horses – though then Richard justifies this because of his great need (l. 11,533, p. 184). It does seem as if Richard is too trusting, but heroism and worldly wisdom are not always partners; Roland in the *Chanson de Roland* was also deceived, but remains a hero;<sup>31</sup> as Bancourt (writing of the *Chanson de Roland*) states: 'trompés par les sarrasins les Francs ne sont pas sots pour autant; ils sont dupes de leur propre bonne foi'.<sup>32</sup>

31 Roland initially refused to accept that his stepfather would have betrayed them: *La Chanson de Roland*, ed. F. Whitehead, revised T.D. Hemming (Bristol, 1993), ll. 1,026-7.

32 P. Bancourt, *Les Musulmans dans les chansons de geste du cycle du roi*, 2 vols (Aix-en-Provence, 1982), 2:104.

The role Saphadin played in these negotiations, as Saladin's representative and intermediary, seems to have been a major part of his function.<sup>33</sup> At several points we find him acting as negotiator on behalf of his brother.<sup>34</sup> When Richard makes overtures to Saladin for a peace treaty, he does so through Saphadin (ll. 10,714–23, p. 175). When the patriarch wishes to buy time for the defenders at Acre, he sends to Saladin and Saphadin (ll. 10,871–3, p. 177). In the final negotiations, we find Richard approaching Saladin through Saphadin, 'who respected him because of his valour' (ll. 11,732–7, p. 186). Again, the renown is Richard's.

Saladin and Saphadin are seen together in the treaty negotiations that precede Richard's departure and in the visit of the pilgrims to Jerusalem that arises out of these negotiations. Richard is seeking a treaty in order to return to England. This is problematic for Ambroise, who has criticized others for treating with Saladin and has also been critical of Philip Augustus for leaving the Holy Land. At this point, it is important that the treaty be presented as honourable, the best option open to the Christian army, so he concentrates on the positive aspects of the treaty and presents Saladin in a favourable light.

One major concession that Richard was able to procure for the Christians was a visit to Jerusalem. Ambroise describes how he was one of the second party of pilgrims to visit the holy places. Saladin is presented as being generous to the pilgrims, including the first group who arrive without a safe-conduct, the messengers having fallen asleep *en route*. On this occasion, some of the Saracens wish to take the opportunity to slay the Christians and wreak vengeance for those they have killed, a desire the western readers of the *Estoire* would have understood. Saladin's advisers, however, consider that this would be acting dishonourably, that 'great blame would come to the pagan faith if these Christian people who ... are come in good faith, were killed in this way ...' (ll. 11,956–68, p. 189). Saladin does not give in to those who would kill the visiting pilgrims. Jubb points out that this is 'in notable contrast to the stereotype of perfidious Muslims'.<sup>35</sup> Again, it seems that Ambroise is not concerned with exploiting the conventions of the *chanson de geste*. Ambroise goes on to describe how Saladin 'sent to Saphadin who commanded that the Christians should be guarded and should have his safe-conduct to make their pilgrimage to the Sepulchre ...'. It is to the credit of both Muslim leaders, but also to that of the Christians, who are thus seen to be dealing with honourable men. Ambroise has no personal authority here since he formed part of the second band of pilgrims; he can only be recounting what he has heard in a way that satisfies his need to justify the peace.

Towards the end of the *Estoire*, Ambroise gives an account of a conversation between Saladin and Hubert Walter, bishop of Salisbury and leader of the third band

33 Compare the *Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr*, paras 142–3, in which Saphadin's role is played down.

34 According to M.C. Lyons and D.E.P. Jackson, in *Saladin: The Politics of the Holy War* (Cambridge, 1982), Saphadin did play this role; see pp. 328, 336, 347–8.

35 Jubb, *The Legend of Saladin*, p. 152.

of pilgrims to visit Jerusalem. Ambroise combines hearsay with his knowledge of how such conversations are recounted in literature, and in a scene reminiscent of the *chansons de geste*,<sup>36</sup> Saladin demonstrates curiosity about Richard, allowing Ambroise, through the bishop, to heap praise on his hero, who is described as 'the best knight in the world and the best warrior and he is generous and talented ...' (ll. 12,101–2, p. 191). More surprising is the next statement ascribed to the bishop: 'I say nothing of our sins but if one were to take your qualities and his [Richard's] together then we will say that nowhere in all the world could such princes be found.' Of course, it is natural to flatter princes, but here we have a compliment to Saladin with a half-compliment to Richard, an implication of some deficiency. This latter may be, as Jubb suggests, a certain rashness, for which Richard is criticized more than once.<sup>37</sup> Jubb sees this praise of Saladin as part of the attack on Philip Augustus, in that 'Philip is put to shame even by the pagans'.<sup>38</sup> Certainly, Philip is less admirable than Saladin and Saphadin. Here, however, the key point is the need to present the treaty, in some ways a surrender, as a victory; Richard has achieved something if the Muslims are now allowing the Christians ready access to the holy sites and treating them as honoured guests rather than enemies.

The ambivalence in the depiction of these two figures, Saladin and his brother, Saphadin, arises from a number of factors. Legends about Saladin in particular were already circulating and could be added to what Ambroise observed as an eyewitness. He then manipulates this material, putting words into Saladin's mouth, presenting Saphadin as the nobler brother. Saladin and, as his lieutenant, Saphadin can be blamed in order to justify Richard's actions. This manipulation may have a number of effects, including providing a comparison with the less than admirable ally, Philip Augustus, and showing the untrustworthiness of those who deal with Richard. The main effect, however, is to enhance the reputation of Richard and to exculpate him by justifying deeds which were open to criticism; Richard must not be blamed for the massacre at Acre, nor for accepting gifts from the Saracens, and Ambroise has to justify the treaty which finally allows Richard to return home. We need to understand how Ambroise controls and shapes his history. He established Saladin and Saphadin as the historical personages they were, while at the same time manipulating that presentation like an author of fictional literature. If, as Bancourt postulates, Ambroise drew upon the model of the *chansons de geste*, he did so sparingly, presenting an image of Saracens who are not only 'plus exacte, plus positive, plus historique' than in the *chansons de geste*,<sup>39</sup> but whose depiction was determined largely by historical reality and the need to justify the behaviour of Richard the Lion-Heart.

36 Bancourt discusses this in some detail in *Les Musulmans*, 1:104–7, referring specifically to the curiosity of Saracens in *Aspremont* and in *Fierabras*, the earliest surviving version of which postdates the *Estoire*, though it is likely that an older song existed; but it is equally possible that Ambroise borrowed the motif without a specific text in mind.

37 Jubb, *The Legend of Saladin*, p. 153; Ailes, 'Heroes of War', pp. 39–40.

38 Jubb, *The Legend of Saladin*, p. 153.

39 Bancourt, 'De l'image épique' p. 235.

What we have in the *Estoire* is a presentation of Saladin that incorporates how he was seen in the crusading army, and manipulates that perception. Ambroise balances the need to include what is known, or believed, about the Muslim leader and his brother, with the need to present an enemy worthy of Richard – an admirable enemy.

## Chapter 6

# Baldwin of Flanders and Henry of Hainault as Military Commanders in the Latin Empire of Constantinople

Peter Noble<sup>1</sup>

The first two Latin emperors of Constantinople were Baldwin of Flanders, who reigned for less than a year, and his younger brother, Henry of Hainault, who after a short period as regent, reigned for ten years. Whereas Baldwin did not succeed in imposing himself as emperor, and died in a useless display of chivalrous gallantry at the battle of Adrianople in 1205, Henry succeeded in extending the boundaries of the empire, in winning over many of the Greeks, and defeating the multiple enemies, both internal and external, who threatened his reign.<sup>2</sup> Given that Baldwin arrived in Constantinople with an established reputation as a successful politician and military commander, whilst his younger brother was simply one of the knights in his train (although obviously, given his rank, one of the more prominent ones), this outcome may seem surprising.

Baldwin had succeeded his father as count of Flanders and Hainault in 1192, and given proof of his ability as a politician by changing the direction of the foreign policy of Flanders. By allying himself with Richard I of England, he succeeded in resisting the encroachments of Philip Augustus of France, whom he defeated in a series of battles. Baldwin then negotiated the treaty of Péronne, in which he recovered much of the territory annexed by Philip some years earlier.<sup>3</sup> His piety was

1 I would like to thank Ruth Macrides for her help and advice, and in particular for allowing me to consult her unpublished translation of *Akropolites*. I would also like to thank Tania van Hemelryck for her help in obtaining articles unavailable in the UK. Further thanks are due to my wife and to my colleague Françoise Le Saux for their help.

2 P. Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean, 1204–1500* (London and New York, 1995), p. 7: ‘With the exception of the emperor Henry (1206–16), the Latin emperors were a poor lot celebrated more for incompetence than strong military leadership. Henry was the only emperor to campaign in Greece and to enforce his overlordship there. The final year of his reign has been dubbed the apogee of the Latin empire.’ See also F. van Tricht, “La Gloire de l’empire”. L’idée impériale de Henri de Flandre-Hainaut, deuxième empereur latin de Constantinople (1206–1216), *Byzantion* 70 (2000), pp. 211–41.

3 J.C. Moore, ‘Count Baldwin of Flanders, Philip Augustus, and the Papal Power’, *Speculum* 37 (1962), pp. 79–89. See also C. Verlinden, *Les Empereurs belges de Constantinople* (Bruxelles, 1945), pp. 43–6.

well known and can be seen in his early decision to take the cross.<sup>4</sup> He arrived early at Venice (V 51), where he was one of the most generous contributors to the levy on the crusaders when they tried in vain to pay off their enormous debt to the Venetians (V 61). Baldwin and Boniface of Montferrat jointly led the successful raid on Andros during the crossing of the Aegean (V 123). During the fighting at Constantinople, he was, of course, one of the leading commanders, always involved in the inner councils, and commander of the vanguard when the crusading army went to face the army of Alexios III; according to Villehardouin, his prominence was in part due to the numbers of archers and crossbowmen under his command (V 147). Clari says that Baldwin asked for the vanguard, but the two statements are not irreconcilable (C 45). This episode is revealing of the problems that a medieval commander could face. Although vastly outnumbered by the Greeks, the crusaders advanced towards the enemy until they reached the top of a rise which, if they crossed it, would hide them from the bulk of the crusader army which was guarding the camp. On the other side of the rise was the watercourse which brought water to Constantinople, the crossing of which would pose severe problems. Baldwin halted his squadron, but the squadron of the count of St Pol saw its chance to take over the van and pressed forward, refusing to listen to appeals from the Flemings to halt, whereas the third squadron, led by Henry, had also halted. Baldwin's own men then told him that if he did not advance, they would no longer regard him as their overlord. Faced with this revolt by his own men, Baldwin had no option but to continue the advance, now side by side with the squadron of the count of St Pol, with the squadron of Henry forming the rearguard (C 47–8). Thanks to the cowardice and indecision of Alexios III, the Greeks did not take advantage of this moment of confusion and dissension amongst the crusaders, which could have proved fatal to their chances. Baldwin emerges from this episode as a commander who did not have total control of his men.

By contrast, Henry emerges with great credit from the only episode in this period of the fighting in which he played an important role. During the brief reign of Alexios V, supplies were running very short amongst the crusaders, and Henry led his men on a raid to Philea, a wealthy town nearby on the Black Sea coast. The raid was a great success in terms of the booty and the provisions gathered, but on the way back, the Flemings were ambushed by Alexios V, who pursued a much more aggressive policy than his predecessors. Alexios's plan was good, but the experienced Flemings under the determined leadership of Henry were more than a match for the Greeks, who were unable to sustain close-quarters combat with the heavily armed knights

<sup>4</sup> Geoffroy de Villehardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. J. Dufournet (Paris, 1969). All references are to this edition and will be indicated by V and the paragraph number. The other primary sources which are cited are Robert de Clari, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. P. Noble (Edinburgh, 2005), with references indicated in the text by C and the paragraph number; Nicetas Choniates, *O City of Byzantium: Annals of Niketas Choniates*, trans. H.J. Magoulias (Detroit, IL, 1984), indicated by NC and page number; Henri de Valenciennes, *Histoire de l'empereur Henri de Constantinople*, ed. J. Longnon (Paris, 1948), indicated by H and paragraph number; Giorgios Akropolites, *Annals*, trans. R. Macrides (forthcoming), indicated by A and paragraph number.

whom they greatly outnumbered. Villehardouin mentions that Henry was personally in command of the rearguard, which was the part of the raiding party first attacked (V 226–8 and C 66). Although Villchardouin does not specifically say so, much of the credit must go to Henry, as he presumably held his forces together in the vital first moments when the Greek charge might have broken the rearguard, and so secured victory.

Once Baldwin was elected emperor, his position became unenviable as the infighting continued, and is clearly described by Clari (C 94). Nicetas Choniates suggests that Baldwin owed his election to the manœuvring of Dandolo, the doge of Venice, which did not endear him to the anti-Venetian crusaders (NC 328). He was surrounded by men like Count Louis of Blois, Boniface of Montferrat, who had been his principal rival for the throne, and the count of St Pol, to name only those of the first rank. They would consider themselves his equals in rank and distinction, not to mention military experience and political *savoir faire*. Baldwin's problems began almost immediately with his quarrel with Boniface over Salonika, which Baldwin had agreed to give to Boniface in exchange for the territories in Asia Minor which had been promised to the loser in the electoral contest for emperor (V 277–80).<sup>5</sup> Despite Boniface's urgent requests, Baldwin, urged on by his advisers, insisted on campaigning towards Salonika into territories which Boniface regarded as his. In retaliation, Boniface struck north towards Adrianople through territories which were undoubtedly the new emperor's (V 281). As Boniface went, he tried with some, though not total, success to rally the Greeks by showing them Manuel, the son of his new wife, Mary of Hungary, by her first husband, Isaac II, and asking them to recognize Manuel as their emperor (NC 289). His success was not total because Manuel had not been crowned, and it is clear that the coronation of Baldwin in Saint Sophia had legitimized him in the eyes of many Greeks, who were prepared to accept him as their ruler.<sup>6</sup> None the less, Boniface's policy forms a stark contrast to that of Baldwin, who treated the Greeks with great haughtiness as a conquered race, an attitude which rapidly alienated most of those who had been prepared to accept him (NC 328, 335). Ironically, the exception to this rudeness was Salonika, where, according to Nicetas, Baldwin was considerate to the Greeks, although the same author tells us that Baldwin subsequently resisted the offers of loyalty made by the Greek nobles of Thrace (NC 329). The two sides, the Italians and the Flemings, were driving each other to more extreme retaliation, and the quarrel was envenomed by a split between the nationalities. The French and the Flemings supported Baldwin, whilst the Italians and the Germans took the side of Boniface. Villehardouin bitterly reproaches Baldwin's counsellors, without naming them, for their poisonous advice

<sup>5</sup> R.L. Wolff, 'The Latin Empire of Constantinople, 1204–1261', in *A History of the Crusades*, gen. ed. K.M. Setton, 6 vols, 2nd edn (Madison, WI, 1969–89), 2:153–203, suggests that the motives of Boniface were twofold – family tradition, and a desire to be near the lands of his new brother-in-law, the king of Hungary.

<sup>6</sup> Wolff, 'Latin Empire', pp. 189–90, notes that Baldwin and his successors adopted Byzantine ceremonial. Van Tricht, 'Gloire de l'empire', studies this in some detail.

(V 278), and it was only the strenuous intervention of the doge, Louis of Blois, and the other important commanders still at Constantinople that prevented all-out civil war between the two parties (V 293). Even after the ultimatum of the other leaders to Baldwin, it is clear that the war-party in his council was determined to force the issue (V 294). Clari stresses the unwillingness of these advisers to make peace (C 100). Baldwin's decision not to pursue the war was reluctant in the extreme, and it was only after his return to Constantinople, when he was in the presence of the other leaders, that he accepted the reality of the situation and agreed to terms with Boniface.

This whole episode brings out vividly the weakness of Baldwin's position and that of the crusaders as a whole. Baldwin was unable to impose himself on the other leaders, and was too much under the influence of his council, which clearly had no overall view of the needs of the crusade and the newly established empire. There is no evidence, however, that Baldwin was reluctant to go along with the policies pressed on him by his advisers.<sup>7</sup> He too was prepared to put his *amour propre* and his personal resentment above the need to keep the support of one of his most powerful fellow crusaders, to the extent that he was ready to wage war against him, something that the Greeks were longing for (V 287 and C 104).

Once this dispute had been settled, the crusaders were able to start expanding the areas which they controlled, and Baldwin sent some of the leading knights into Asia Minor so that they could conquer the territories allotted to them, and hem in the most dangerous of the escaped Greek leaders, Theodore Lascaris. Again, Henry distinguished himself in a short, aggressive campaign which saw him conquer the whole of the Troad with the help of the Armenians who had settled there (V 310, 321 and C 111), earning the reluctant admiration of Nicetas (NC 329). But Henry had to abandon these conquests when he was recalled by his brother; Baldwin was faced with the revolt of the Greeks at Adrianople, who had called in the Bulgarians (V 340). Again, Villehardouin is very critical of the advice given to Baldwin (V 348). In fact, the threat posed by the Bulgarians under Kalojan was so serious that Baldwin did not feel able to wait for the return of all the troops in Asia Minor, and as soon as he had collected a few reinforcements, he set out for Adrianople to counter the Bulgarian threat.<sup>8</sup> Henry's return is marked by one of the few episodes in his campaigns where he is clearly open to criticism. In the Troad, he had been loyally supported by a large band of Armenians who, when they realized that he was about to leave, accompanied him with all their families and possessions (NC 330). Once he was back in Europe, for the sake of speed he left them to follow on behind (V 381).

7 Verlinden, *Les Empereurs*, p. 88: 'il est incontestable que le prestige de Baudouin avait souffert de ce conflit. En toute justice, il faut reconnaître qu'en cette occurrence il s'était comporté d'avantage en féodal qu'en souverain et en empereur.'

8 J. Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1987), p. 63, argues that Baldwin suffered from the system of *infeudation*, giving as an example Boniface of Montferrat's non-availability for the campaigns of Baldwin, because Boniface was campaigning on his own account further south.

Villehardouin carefully tells us that Henry thought that it was safe to leave them, but as Villehardouin was at Adrianople at the time, he must be relying on *ex post facto* justifications. In fact, the Armenians were massacred by the local Greeks as soon as the knights were out of reach. It is clear that whatever his intentions had been, Henry abandoned the Armenians to their fate, which was a gruesome one (V 385).<sup>9</sup>

At Adrianople, Baldwin's inability to impose his authority on his forces was to have fatal consequences. Kalojan's favourite tactic was to send out large numbers of Cumans, his nomadic horsemen, lightly armed and well mounted, to harass the enemy, lure them into a pursuit which would destroy their formation, and then pick them off either individually or in small groups.<sup>10</sup> On the first day the tactic worked, although not perfectly, as the knights did not completely lose control, and despite some losses, regrouped and returned to the relative safety of the crusader lines. That evening, the commanders agreed on their tactics for the next day: on no account were the knights to pursue the enemy, but they were to hold their formation and charge only when commanded (V 355–6). These were perfectly sensible tactics, as it would be impossible for the lightly armed Cumans to withstand a charge by the knights in tight formation. In the event, the orders were disobeyed by one of the leaders, a member of the very council that had drawn up the new battle orders. Louis of Blois was the first to disregard the orders and lead a disorganized band in pursuit of the Cumans (V 358). As a result, he was cut off and fatally wounded, so that when Baldwin charged to the rescue, he found a dying Louis, who begged him to save himself. Baldwin's sense of honour would not allow him to retreat (V 359), and so he was captured, eventually dying miserably in captivity, the victim of Kalojan's fury.<sup>11</sup> Baldwin's bravery earned him the respect of his fellows, but Villehardouin makes no bones about his despair at the behaviour of Louis of Blois and Baldwin (V 361). The fact that anything at all was saved from the defeat was due entirely to the skill and courage of Villehardouin (V 362), who rallied the survivors and made them form up outside Adrianople, so that the Cumans were unwilling to charge their disciplined ranks; he then masterminded a withdrawal to Rodosto and relative safety (V 366).

Baldwin's death was due in part to his own sense of honour and his adherence to the chivalric values of epic poetry (critics have remarked on the epic quality of much of Villehardouin's account), but also in part to the fact that he was not a supreme commander, rather the principal leader of a group of near-equals who did not necessarily accept that all the rules applied to them. These factors in themselves would explain the defeat of the young man, still in his early thirties at the time of his death, but the possibility that he was seriously depressed must also be taken into account. Baldwin was devoted to his wife, Mary of Flanders, who died at Acre not

<sup>9</sup> Wolff, 'Latin Empire', p. 201, considers that the Armenians were betrayed by Henry.

<sup>10</sup> Nicetas Choniates, p. 337, says that Kalojan also prepared an ambush for the crusaders.

<sup>11</sup> Wolff, 'Latin Empire', p. 204, summarizes the different accounts of the death of Baldwin by Nicetas Choniates and Akropolites.

long after his coronation, when she was preparing to sail to Constantinople to join him (V 317). The news probably reached Constantinople after the conclusion of the negotiations with Boniface and just before the rising by the Greeks of Adrianople, when Verlinden thinks that Baldwin began to show marked signs of stress and nervous tension.<sup>12</sup> Apart from his grief at the loss of someone whom he loved, he was beset by problems which were nearly insoluble. He was surrounded by jealous and quarrelsome so-called allies and resentful Greeks, living in a climate which was extremely trying and to which he could not have been fully acclimatized, and grieving for the deaths of other friends and followers. It would not be surprising in the circumstances if he became depressed after the death of his wife. This would help to explain the contrast between the successful politician and warrior, who was the count of Flanders, and the Latin emperor who failed to control his own men or to conciliate his new subjects.<sup>13</sup>

Following the capture of Baldwin, Henry of Flanders was appointed regent (V 385), and when the news of Baldwin's death in captivity was confirmed, he was chosen as the new emperor (V 441).<sup>14</sup> This does not seem to have been a straightforward case of hereditary succession, since it is clear that the choice of Henry was made by the leaders of the expedition. He was, however, Baldwin's nearest male heir on the spot, and so the crown remained in the House of Flanders. Henry faced a very different situation from Baldwin, in that he was not surrounded by men of equal rank on whom he had to impose his authority. The doge and Louis of Blois were dead. Boniface of Montferrat was away in Salonika, and the majority of his council was made up of able, seasoned veterans like Villehardouin, Conon de Béthune and Macaire de Sainte Menehould, who were of a slightly lower rank and accustomed to following a greater lord such as Henry. He also proceeded to follow a very different policy from Baldwin, in that he was very ready to meet Boniface half-way when the latter made conciliatory overtures. These culminated in Henry's marriage to Boniface's daughter, Agnes of Montferrat, who was summoned from Italy to become empress (V 450, 457–9 and Clari 115). Perhaps even more importantly, Henry showed none of Baldwin's arrogance towards and contempt for the Greeks, whom he welcomed into his ranks.<sup>15</sup> Some of them, like Theodore Branas, now the husband of the former empress, Agnes of France, the sister of Philip Augustus, were entrusted with fiefs (V 423). Branas became virtually the client ruler of Adrianople and Demotika (V 442),<sup>16</sup>

12 Verlinden, *Les Empereurs*, p. 94.

13 Wolff, 'Latin Empire', pp. 199–200, criticizes severely the 'diplomatic ineptitude' and the lack of a military strategy in the early Latin empire.

14 Wolff, 'Latin Empire', p. 195 says that Henry's coronation was on 20 August 1206.

15 Akropolites, p. 16: 'The said Henry, even though a Frank by birth, behaved graciously to the Romans ... and ranked many of them among his magnates.' Van Tricht, 'La Gloire de l'empire', p. 218, sees the years 1211–16 as marking a steady rise in Greek participation in Henry's government as western influence declined.

16 This may well have been an attempt by Henry to reward the Greeks of Adrianople and Demotika, as Villehardouin (paras 446–7) makes it clear that the Greeks of these two cities formed an important element of the imperial forces pursuing Kalojan.

a policy which Henry was to follow elsewhere, since the kingdom of Salonika, under the regency of his ally Mary of Hungary, was also dependent on his support.<sup>17</sup> David Comnenos in Asia Minor was another ally as he sought to ward off the rising power of Theodore Lascaris in Nicaea.<sup>18</sup> In the west, Henry was, at different times, in alliance with Michael of Epiros and the Bulgarian princelings, Strez and Slav.<sup>19</sup>

Politically, therefore, Henry seems to have been a much shrewder operator than his elder brother. This can be seen also in his dealings with the Greek Church (A 17). Baldwin, a man of rigid and unbending piety, had shown little sympathy with Greek complaints. Henry was much readier to be flexible, despite the papal rebuff to the Greek clergy, who had followed Henry's advice to ask the pope for a patriarch of their language. Innocent's failure to reply to their very moderately expressed letter led to the election of a new Greek patriarch and the coronation of Theodore Lascaris in Nicaea.<sup>20</sup> The military situation when Henry came to power was very grave.<sup>21</sup> Not only were the Bulgarians under Kalojan a constant threat from the north, but in Asia Minor Theodore Lascaris had established himself as ruler at Nicaea, and although he was not crowned emperor until 1208, he was providing a centre for Greek resistance. To the west, Michael Doucas was establishing himself as the future despot of Epiros, while in Corinth, Leon Sgouros was building a power-base. Probably in 1211, Michael, either in alliance with Strez or acting separately, attacked Salonika, an attack which Henry saw as a revolt by two vassals who had to be suppressed.<sup>22</sup> Despite swearing oaths of loyalty on several occasions, both Michael and Strez continued to rebel until Henry lost patience and conquered a large part of their territories. This process of conquest was interrupted by Henry's urgent recall to Constantinople in 1212.<sup>23</sup> A wily tactician like Lascaris was well aware that Henry would have difficulty in fighting on more than one front, and so he endeavoured to use the old Byzantine

17 She is sometimes called Margaret, as in Wolff, 'Latin Empire', p.189. Nicetas Choniates, p. 349, says that the death of Boniface had been greeted with delight by the people of Salonika, and that Mary's regency was much less grasping.

18 Wolff, 'Latin Empire', p. 205. In 1206, David became Henry's vassal.

19 Lock, *Franks*, p. 60: 'This coalition [with Michael of Epiros and Strez] shows both the effectiveness of the imperial army in 1209 and Henry's wisdom in occupying the Maritsa valley.' Fine, *Late Medieval Balkans*, p. 67, points out that by 1210, Michael was attacking Salonika and had to be driven back by Henry's intervention.

20 Fine, *Late Medieval Balkans*, p. 78. The religious strife continued until 1213, when Henry defied the papal legate, reopened the Greek churches and released the Greek monks who had been imprisoned. The bitterness between the Greek and Latin clerics, however, continued for centuries.

21 J. Longnon, *L'Empire de Constantinople* (Paris, 1949), p. 81: 'Pour le moment, les possessions de Thrace étaient réduites à trois villes: avec Constantinople et Rodostos, Silymbrie située à mi-distance et peuplée de réfugiés grecs (parmi lesquels l'historien Nicetas). ... En Asie Mineure, seule la place de Pigae avait été conservée.'

22 Longnon, *L'Empire*, pp. 120-22, describes the manœuvres of Michael.

23 F. van Tricht, 'La politique étrangère de l'empire de Constantinople, de 1210 à 1216', *Le Moyen Age* 107 (2001), pp. 219-38, 409-38, at 234-5.

tactic of calling in the enemy of his enemy (V 459). Thus Henry repeatedly found himself torn between answering calls for help from Adrianople in the north or Cyzicus and Nicomedia to the south (V 472). On three occasions when he was about to set out to rescue Adrianople, he had to gather whatever boats he could and race across the straits to help men like Peter of Bracieux or Païen of Orleans, who had been given fiefs in Asia Minor, to beat off the attacks of Lascaris (V 461–5). Every time he was successful, but finally he accepted a two-year truce offered by Lascaris, which left him free to concentrate on the defeat of Kalojan.<sup>24</sup> The death of Boniface of Montferrat in a Bulgarian ambush just before the two men, now father-in-law and son-in-law, undertook a joint campaign against Kalojan seemed like a disaster, but it was followed shortly after by the murder of Kalojan by a Cuman chieftain. It is possible that this was part of a plot by Kalojan's Cuman queen and his eventual successor, his nephew, Boril, whom she soon afterwards married. Whatever the truth of the murder, it seriously weakened the Bulgarians, since Boril faced other rivals for the throne and was in no position to continue the campaigns against the Latins. Boril was further weakened by the revolt of two chieftains – Slav, who married Henry's illegitimate daughter and became a fairly dependable ally of Henry, and Strez, who proved to be much less reliable, as was shown in 1211.

Henry's qualities as both a soldier and a politician emerge particularly clearly in his campaign against the Lombards of Salonika, which is fully documented in the narrative of Henry of Valenciennes. After the unexpected death of Boniface of Montferrat, there quickly emerged two parties in Salonika. The Lombards were led by the count of Biandrate, who wanted to break away from the empire and hand Salonika to William IV of Montferrat, the eldest son of Boniface. For his part, William seemed to be in no hurry to abandon Italy for the uncertainties of Greece (H 598).<sup>25</sup> The other party, supported by the Germans and the Burgundians, who had been loyal to Boniface, was headed by the queen mother, Mary of Hungary, who had to appeal to her overlord, Henry, to protect the rights of her two-year-old son, Demetrios, Boniface's chosen heir for Salonika.<sup>26</sup> Faced with a rapidly deteriorating situation in Salonika, Henry reacted with an energy and determination which took the Lombards by surprise. He led a forced march to Salonika in the depths of winter, and although the Lombards at first refused him entry, he eventually negotiated entry on terms that were apparently very unfavourable, and which he insisted had to receive the consent of the queen mother (H 562–95). Confident in their superiority, the Lombards allowed a limited number of Henry's men to enter the city, and they soon managed to open the city to the rest (H 596). The queen mother refused to approve the terms, and the Lombards found themselves totally outmanœuvred (H 603). Their resistance did not end there, however, despite the generosity of Henry, who always

24 Wolff, 'Latin Empire', p. 205: '[Henry] had nothing left in Asia but Pegae and Charax. The truce almost fulfilled Lascaris's war aims of the moment: to expel the Latins from Asia.'

25 Wolff, 'Latin Empire', pp. 206–7, suggests that they hoped to make William emperor instead of Henry.

26 Longnon, *L'Empire*, p. 106.

tried to conciliate defeated enemies. The emperor had to lead a vigorous campaign in 1209 through central Greece, going as far as Euboea in very difficult conditions, but wherever he went, he was victorious (H 624–86). The authority of the queen mother was restored, the separatist ambitions of the Lombards were crushed, and henceforth the kingdom of Salonika was loyal and dependent.

Henry's great weakness, which was to be the weakness of the Latin empire throughout, was his lack of manpower. Villehardouin comments on how Henry was powerless to resist the Cumans, who were raiding right up to the gates of Constantinople, because of his lack of men (V 461). Reinforcements did arrive soon afterwards under the command of Peter of Douai, but the maximum fighting strength of the Latins has been estimated at around six hundred fully armed knights and perhaps ten thousand men-at-arms.<sup>27</sup> On most occasions, Henry cannot possibly have raised his full strength, although he certainly supplemented it with Greeks, Armenians and others. On the other hand, both Lascaris and Michael Comnenos were offering very attractive rates to Latin mercenaries, and many western knights went to fight for them.<sup>28</sup> Despite this weakness, Henry constantly raided north into Wallachia, carrying the war to the Bulgarians instead of allowing them to raid Thrace and Macedonia with impunity.<sup>29</sup> A further protective measure was the establishment of his brother, Eustace, on the western frontier. Here he could act as a barrier against Michael of Epiros and as a restraint on any separatist ambitions of Strez, and bring support rapidly to Mary of Hungary should she need it.<sup>30</sup> With the west and the north protected or pacified, and the south secure in the hands of Geoffrey of Villehardouin the younger, who had conquered the Morea and accepted

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27 *Ibid.*, p. 125.

28 Longnon, *L'Empire*, p. 124, mentions the importance of Frankish knights in Michael's army during his revolt, which was defeated by Henry with the support of Geoffrey of Villehardouin. He also (p. 126) describes the role of 800 Latin mercenaries in the army of Theodore Lascaris, who were almost all killed in the battle of Luparchos fought against Henry.

29 Fine, *Late Medieval Balkans*, pp. 93–4, describes Henry's campaign in 1208 against Boril, who was decisively defeated in a battle outside Philippopolis.

30 Wolff, 'Latin Empire', p. 208, summarizes how treacherous and difficult Michael was, even after he had married his daughter to Henry's brother Eustace. None the less, by 1214 both Michael and Strez had been defeated. Fine, *Late Medieval Balkans*, p. 98, gives a clear account of the career of Strez from 1209 until his death in 1214, during which period he moved from being an ally of Stephen of Serbia to an ally of Boril of Bulgaria, his cousin according to van Tricht, 'Politique étrangère', p. 236, n. 77. It may be that this alliance seemed threatening to Michael and forced him to reach an agreement with the Latins. This resulted in Michael and his Latin allies defeating Strez and the Bulgarians at Pelagonia (modern Bitola) in 1211. Longnon, *L'Empire*, p. 122, cites Henry's letter in which he complains that Michael had broken his oath four times, and Strez three: Van Tricht, 'Politique étrangère', p. 236, gives 1212 as the date of the battle in which Eustace and Bernard of Katzenellenbogen in alliance with Michael defeated Strez.

the suzerainty of Constantinople, Henry was free to concentrate on nullifying the threat of the rising power of Lascaris in Nicaea.<sup>31</sup>

We do not have the same documentary sources, which give such a clear picture of the campaign against the Lombards, for the second part of Henry's reign. What is certain, however, is that with the threats from the north and the west under control, Henry was free to cross the straits and campaign in Asia Minor to drive back the ever-present danger from Theodore Lascaris, whose right to call himself emperor Henry did not recognize. Instead, Henry considered that, like David Comnenos and Michael of Epirus, the ruler of Nicaea should regard himself as his subordinate.<sup>32</sup> This he demonstrated to great effect in 1212, when Theodore Lascaris was threatening to attack Constantinople. Henry crossed into Asia Minor, defeated the attempt of Theodore to oppose his landing, and then overwhelmed the Greek army at the battle of Luparchos.<sup>33</sup> Next, he conquered the whole of the Troad, as he had during the reign of his brother.<sup>34</sup> Then he marched south beyond Pergamum to reassert the frontiers of the empire and secure part of the pilgrim land-route to the Holy Land (territory which the Greeks recovered in the truce signed at Nymphaion).<sup>35</sup> By this campaign he established a degree of security for Constantinople, as both sides of the straits and the Sea of Marmara were held by the Latins. The government of the Troad was then entrusted to the experienced George Theophilopoulos, another example of a Greek being taken into Henry's service and proving both able and faithful.<sup>36</sup> In this way, Lascaris was neutralized, having lost a quarter of his land, the possession of which greatly strengthened Henry's position at Constantinople, giving him much more land that was his personal domain.<sup>37</sup>

Towards the end of his reign there is some evidence from Serbian sources that Henry had again turned his attention to his European frontiers, probably with the

31 Longnon, *L'Empire*, p. 124, comments on Henry's tactics, which included an alliance with the sultan of Iconium (Konya) against Lascaris: 'situation paradoxale que cette alliance avec un infidèle contre un chrétien pour le protégé du pape, qui était toujours considéré comme croisé'.

32 Van Tricht, 'Politique étrangère', p. 410.

33 Wolff, 'Latin Empire', p. 209, dates the battle as 15 October 1211, and cites the letter of Henry from Pergamum, which he dates to January 1212: 'Our four ... enemies – Boril, Lascaris, Michael and Strez – are humbled and altogether deprived of strength ...'. To secure his gains, Henry needed reinforcements, which never came. Van Tricht, 'Politique étrangère', p. 234, agrees, but dates the victory to 1212 and the letter to 1213.

34 Akropolites, p. 15, discusses Henry's campaign (the only one he mentions) and describes Henry as 'sated by his conquests'. See also Longnon, *L'Empire*, pp. 126–8.

35 Van Tricht, 'Politique étrangère', p. 415, suggests that further south, away from the vicinity of Nicaea, the resistance of the Greeks was much less intense after the victory at Luparchos.

36 Peace was established in 1213 by a treaty between the two sides: Van Tricht, 'Politique étrangère', discusses the dating in detail.

37 Ibid., pp. 417–18.

aim of securing the overland route for pilgrims travelling down the Danube valley.<sup>38</sup> His campaigns here seem to have been less successful because of the unreliability of his allies. Peace was secured with the Bulgarians after their last campaign of April 1211, when they were defeated by the combined forces of Eustace and Slav, and it was marked by the marriage of Henry to a Bulgarian princess, a great-niece of Kalojan, as Agnes of Montferrat seems to have died soon after their marriage. As Agnes was pregnant at the time of the meeting between Henry and Boniface, it is not unreasonable to guess that she lost the baby or that it died at birth, and that if she survived, her health deteriorated. Whatever the reason, Henry was a widower, and somewhat reluctantly consented to his marriage to the daughter of Boril, who needed help against his rival, John Asen (C 119).<sup>39</sup> The first expedition to Serbia with his new ally, Boril, occurred in 1214.<sup>40</sup> A disagreement with the Bulgarians seems to have forced the emperor to withdraw without achieving his aims.<sup>41</sup> The second campaign,<sup>42</sup> also against Stephen of Serbia, was to be conducted with Andrew of Hungary, who was married to a niece of Henry, the daughter of his sister, Yolande of Flanders, and her husband, Peter of Courtenay. By the time imperial troops arrived in Nis, however, Andrew had made peace with Stephen, and once again Henry had to withdraw without achieving his aim, which presumably was to reduce Stephen to the status of a client-king.<sup>43</sup> Despite the lack of success, Henry clearly had twice marched to Nis some five hundred miles away with the aim of establishing his authority over ancient Byzantine provinces and dominating the valley of the Danube. Such domination would secure the crusader route, provide a land-link with the west, the source of reinforcements, and secure the heartland of the empire. His

38 Longnon, *L'Empire*, p. 148, speculates that Henry had in mind some major undertaking involving the recommencement of the crusade. Van Tricht, 'Politique étrangère', pp. 236–37, argues that this policy indicates that any threat from Epiros had been eliminated, as Michael had accepted the status of vassal of Henry.

39 Fine, *Late Medieval Balkans*, p. 101. She was Kalojan's daughter, but adopted by Boril, who divorced his own Cuman wife in order to marry Henry's niece. Van Tricht, 'Politique étrangère', p. 423, speculates that this princess was Boril's heiress, and that the two rulers were envisaging a union of their crowns. There seems to be little evidence to support this theory.

40 Fine, *Late Medieval Balkans*, p. 102, thinks that Strez was also an ally of Boril and Henry, and that the Latin-Bulgarian campaign against Serbia shows the importance of Boril to Henry since this campaign was far more in the interests of Boril than Henry.

41 Fine, *Late Medieval Balkans*, pp. 103–4, thinks that the death of Strez, who was leading a pincer movement against the Serbs, was largely responsible for the failure of the allies to carry through their attack. Wolff, 'Latin Empire', p. 210, thinks that the Serbs defeated the allied forces. He suggests that Strez was Henry's ally and was killed by Stephen of Serbia, whose vassal he had been. Van Tricht, 'Politique étrangère', p. 424, suggests that the allies had different motives for this campaign. Boril wanted to punish Stephen for supporting Strez and to reconquer Nis, whilst Henry wanted to reduce Stephen to the status of a vassal.

42 Dated by van Tricht to 1215: 'Politique étrangère', p. 428.

43 Fine, *Late Medieval Balkans*, p. 105, queries whether any action took place.

plans were thwarted by the unreliability of his allies and his own lack of manpower, but his strategic vision was clear and made sense.

Henry died unexpectedly in 1216, probably from marsh fever, although his contemporaries suspected his Bulgarian wife of poisoning him (C 119). While he was alive, his energy and intelligence were crucial to the survival of the empire. The lack of a competent successor meant that its subsequent existence was a constant struggle to ward off the inevitable. There can be no doubt that Henry had his fair share of luck. The death of Kalojan was an immense stroke of good fortune, as, in a different way, was the disappearance of potential rivals amongst the Latins. None the less, Henry's numerous successes against enemies as varied as the Lombards of Salonika or Theodore Lascaris suggest that he was more than just lucky.<sup>44</sup> He did not lose any battles. Nicetas comments more than once on his immense courage and daring. He had strategic and political intelligence, which he used. His victory over Boril at the battle of Philippopolis in 1208 shows that he could control and discipline his troops more effectively than his brother. He knew how to conciliate former enemies whom he had crushed before they became too dangerous. He reacted to challenges as soon as he could with decisive action. He handled the Greeks with more tact and consideration than his brother had shown, and recruited them into his army and his service on both sides of the Sea of Marmara.<sup>45</sup> In every field, he seems to have been abler than Baldwin, although while Baldwin was alive, there was no question about which brother was in charge. Baldwin had established his authority as a leader and a politician in the difficult circumstances of Flanders, but in the very different circumstances of the eastern empire, his more rigid temperament, influenced perhaps by depression at the loss of his wife, was unsuited to the task which he had undertaken. From the point of view of the survival of the Latin empire, his death was almost certainly a blessing as it opened the way for his more talented younger brother to inherit the empire and give it a brief period of dominance.<sup>46</sup>

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44 Van Tricht, 'La Gloire', p.231: 'De plus il [Henri] possérait des talents militaires et diplomatiques exceptionnels.'

45 Wolff, 'Latin Empire', p. 210: 'He had great talents as a soldier ... a keen sense of political necessity.' Wolff goes on to explain that Henry's very considerable popularity among the Greeks was due in part to his readiness to accept Greeks into his administration and in part to his defence of the Greek Church and clergy, particularly against the legate Pelagius in 1214. J. Dufournet, 'Robert de Clari, Villehardouin et Henri de Valenciennes, juges de l'empereur Henri de Constantinople. De l'histoire à la légende', *Revue de linguistique romane* 37 (1973), pp. 83–202, points out that Henry is the beneficiary of extremely eulogistic accounts in Villehardouin and Henri de Valenciennes. Clari remains more neutral, but if, as seems likely, Clari returned home in late 1205, he would not have witnessed Henry's rise to leadership after his brother's defeat at Adrianople.

46 Longnon, *L'Empire*, p. 129, describes Henry as follows: 'Cet empire, d'un aspect si nouveau et si curieux, est proprement l'œuvre de Henri de Hainaut: avant toute chose, son personage domine l'histoire du nouvel état, dont il fut le véritable fondateur.'

## Chapter 7

# A Female Physician on the Fourth Crusade? Laurette de Saint-Valéry

Susan B. Edgington

In 1951, Ernest Wickersheimer published an article on medicine in the crusader states in which he identified a woman crusader who practised medicine:

Voici maintenant une femme, LAURETTE DE SAINT-VALERY, que nos dames de la Croix-Rouge pourraient revendiquer comme aïeule. Epouse d'Aléaume DE FONTAINES, seigneur de Longpré et Fontaine-sur-Somme, elle avait appris la médecine pour soigner les pauvres. D'aspect viril, 'barbata facie seipsa exhibuit virum', elle partit pour la troisième croisade, mais ne revit pas sa Picardie natale, car au retour, en 1205, elle mourut à Constantinople.<sup>1</sup>

This short biography immediately raises a series of questions. Where and how had Laurette learnt medicine? How did she enlist for the Third Crusade? Did she really then stay in *Outremer* until the capture of Constantinople? And what is the significance of her hirsute appearance? Researching the answers to these questions provided some unexpected answers.

Wickersheimer's cited authority was the *Dictionnaire de biographie française*, s.v. Aléaume de Fontaines.<sup>2</sup> According to this, Laurette's husband, who was the second mayor of the new commune of Abbeville, accompanied his overlord, Jean of Ponthieu, on the Third Crusade, stayed in the east, and in 1204 joined the army which besieged Constantinople. Before his death there, in 1205, he sent to his foundation at Longpré – which as a result became Longpré-les-Corps-Saints – a quantity of relics which included a drink of Moses and the rod of Aaron. Aléaume had married Laurette de Saint-Valéry, who had a great reputation for charity and 'barbata facie seipsa exhibuit virum'. The couple had several children, who further enriched the *collégiale* at Longpré. There was no mention of Laurette's medical skills, nor was

<sup>1</sup> E. Wickersheimer, 'Organisation et législation sanitaires au Royaume franc de Jérusalem (1099-1291)', *Archives internationales d'histoire des sciences* 4 (1951), pp. 689-705, at 690-91.

<sup>2</sup> *Dictionnaire de biographie française* (Paris, 1933), vol. 1, col. 1,373.

there a reference to the medieval source for the detail of the entry: the works cited were of the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries.<sup>3</sup>

However, it was possible from these to confirm the connection with Jean of Ponthieu: 'Aelelmus de Fontanis' witnessed the communal charter Jean granted to Abbeville in January 1184, and also a charter of Jean, dated 1187, which granted commercial privileges to the *bourgeois* of the commune. However, in 1202 a charter of Doullens includes in the witness-list 'Hugo, Henricus et Ingelrannus de Fontannis', which suggests that by that date Aléaume was either no longer alive or no longer in Picardy.<sup>4</sup> Louandre, whose *Histoire d'Abbeville et du comté de Ponthieu* is dated 1845, stated categorically that Aléaume, 'meyer d'Abbeville', was among those who accompanied Jean of Ponthieu on the Third Crusade, further claiming that he stayed in the Levant with those knights left behind by Philip Augustus, and that he rejoined the crusaders at Constantinople in 1204. No authority was given for this information. Louandre did not say that Laurette accompanied her husband on crusade, but observed in a footnote that she had 'toutes les vertus des chevaliers et la charité de son sexe'. He further quoted 'un historien' (unspecified): 'Sicut animi uirtute non erat inferior uiro, sic barbata facie seipsam exhibuit uirum.' He noted that she had learnt medicine to assist the poor.<sup>5</sup> Another scrap of information that Louandre gave is that Jean of Ponthieu's company also included Bernard III of Saint-Valéry, a reminder that Laurette was born into a very prominent crusading family, as established by Riley-Smith for the period of the First Crusade.<sup>6</sup> It would have been possible, therefore, for Laurette to have gone on crusade with her husband and her father.

Jean of Ponthieu sent two letters from the crusaders' camp outside Acre, addressed generally to 'all who read them', in which he said that he had stood guarantor for the sum of 200 *livres* lent by Genoese citizens to crusaders from Abbeville. The first is dated May 1191, and the second, which is a more desperate appeal, is dated June.<sup>7</sup> He appears to be hoping to receive funds from home. There are nine names of his 'amés et féaux' in the first letter, and four different names in the second (it is not clear whether the letters refer to the same loan), but Aléaume de Fontaines is not among them. The *Itinerarium peregrinorum* lists 'Aelaninus de Fontanis' among the arrivals at Acre, but he is mentioned by neither Ambroise nor the Old French Continuation of

3 A. Thierry, ed., *Recueil des monuments inédits de l'histoire du tiers-état: Région du Nord*, vol. 4 (Paris, 1870), p. 673; I. de Jésus-Maria, *Histoire chronologique des mayeurs de la ville d'Abbeville* (Paris, 1657), pp. 39, 56, 58, 60, 105; F.-C. Louandre, *Histoire d'Abbeville et du comté de Ponthieu*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1845), p. 139.

4 Thierry, ed., *Recueil*, vol. 4, pp. 9–14, 15–16, 623.

5 Louandre, *Histoire*, vol. 1, pp. 138–9 and n.

6 J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders* (Cambridge, 1997), p. 171.

7 Louandre printed French translations of the two letters, and in a note (*Histoire*, vol. 1, pp. 139–40) acknowledged that they were brought to his attention by 'M. F. Guessard, ancien élève de l'Ecole des Chartes'.

William of Tyre.<sup>8</sup> Runciman, confusingly, has an Alan of Saint-Valéry arrive at Acre, but like the French works, he cites no medieval source for this.<sup>9</sup>

Thus far research had corroborated only that part of the story which said that Laurette's husband went on the Third Crusade. It was fairly certain that the description of her appearance and any other details about her would not be found in a charter or other diplomatic source. Finally, after reading many narrative accounts of the Third and Fourth Crusades, the source document was discovered, reproduced in Riant's *Exuviae sacrae*.<sup>10</sup> It is the *Lectiones Longipratenses*, a collection of nine readings to commemorate the reception of relics sent by Aléaume de Fontaines to the monastery at Longpré in 1205. Riant used a manuscript of the fifteenth century for his Latin text, but also reproduced a French version from the seventeenth century. Riant's own evaluation of the *Lectiones* and its sources was detailed and exemplary. He demonstrated convincingly that it drew on various thirteenth-century documents, some lost, including Longpré's foundation charter; an oral account by the priest Wibert, who brought back the relics; letters of Aléaume, and accounts of the journey from Constantinople by Richard de Gerberoy and Gauthier Cornut. These, he hypothesized, were incorporated into two *rotuli* (one now lost) around 1233, and these in turn were used to produce a French version of the foundation and endowment in 1380, and the Latin *Lectiones* in 1437.<sup>11</sup> Thus the surviving text in which Laurette de Saint-Valéry appears is a construct of the fifteenth century, and can have only limited value as evidence for the Third and Fourth Crusades. Nevertheless, there are still interesting features in the depiction of Laurette.

The document starts in 1190, and the first *lectio* contains the descriptions of Aléaume and Laurette. Aléaume's makes the hagiographical intent of the work explicit:

At Longpré there was renowned a very Christian man, an outstanding knight, noble by birth but nobler by virtue of his piety, with an extraordinary physique, a merry countenance and refined appearance, tall in stature, experienced and active in military affairs, Aléaume de Fontaines.<sup>12</sup>

8 H.E. Mayer, ed., *Itinerarium peregrinorum* (Stuttgart, 1962), p. 332; H.J. Nicholson, ed., *Chronicle of the Third Crusade: A Translation of the Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi* (Aldershot, 1997), p. 98; Ambroise, *The Crusade of Richard the Lion-Heart*, ed. and trans. M.J. Hubert and J.L. La Monte (New York, 1941), p. 159, n. 6, but see also the new edition and translation by M. Ailes and M. Barber: Ambroise, *The History of the Holy War* (2 vols, Woodbridge, 2003); P.W. Edbury, ed., *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade: Sources in Translation* (Aldershot, 1996).

9 S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, vol. 3 (Cambridge, 1954), p. 28.

10 P. Riant, ed., *Exuviae sacrae constantinopolitanae*, 2 vols (Geneva, 1877–78). I am very grateful to J. Riley-Smith for this reference.

11 Riant, ed., *Exuviae*, vol. 1, pp. cxxiv–cxxv.

12 'claruit apud Longum vir bene catolicus, miles egregius, genere nobilis, sed pietate nobilior, prestanti corpore, iucondo aspectu & eleganti facie, statura procerus, in militaribus negotiis prudens & strenuus, Allelmus de Fontanis' (p. 10).

And then:

His wife was Laurette, very well born, the daughter of the celebrated prince Bernard of Saint-Valéry, an estimable wife but also happy as a widow, who is believed to have added to her husband's glory and renown by her greatness of soul. She ceaselessly offered up to Christ her offspring, which she had brought into the world; she was always intent on her prayers, constantly busy about the beauty of the church, in which she delighted, loving those who served at the altar, the ministers of Christ, as if they were her own flesh and blood; moreover she had compassion on the infirm and the destitute, and she learned medicine in order to help the ailments of the poor, which were disdained by salaried physic; she added to the six works of mercy which are recorded in the gospels, and the seventh of Tobias, an eighth, to cure the sick whom she nourished, and, just as she was not less worthy in the manly strength of her mind, so she had the appearance of a man, with a bearded face.<sup>13</sup>

The first *lectio* finishes thus: it is notable that much less space and descriptive power is devoted to Aléaume than to his wife.

The reason for this appears in *lectio* ii, which starts with the state of emergency in the Holy Land. Aléaume's response is to take the cross and to vow to offer his own suffering for that of Christ; Laurette's is more practical: she urges him to redeem his sins by giving alms for the foundation of the *collégiale* at Longpré. This, presumably, is why she is so prominent in the document. Aléaume's role in the Third Crusade is passed over quickly up to the point at which:

Certain of the Franks who had been with the army since the beginning wanted to go home, but Aléaume, renowned knight of Christ, took up his journey of pilgrimage and arrived with joy at the promised land, where he fought for Christ even as the others were hurrying to return home, for he judged it to be unworthy to go home with his business unfinished. He lived in the Holy Land until 1205, when the Lord destroyed the pride of the Greeks, and after Constantinople was captured He gave the power of the Greeks into the hands of the Latins, and many deeds were done there famously and vigorously. Before he [Aléaume] brought his last day to a close, he translated the holy and venerable relics of the saints, precious things which he had sought out with utmost pious zeal, from the aforesaid city of Constantinople, by way of a certain chaplain of his, called Wibert, to his

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13 'Uxor vero eius admodum generosa, incliti principis filia Bernardi de Sancto Walerico, Loreta fuit, coniux laudabilis sed felix vidua, que ad viri sui laudes & animos magnanimitate sua plurimum creditur addidisse. Hec sobolem suam, quam mundo pepererat, Christo parturire non cessabat, orationibus vero semper intenta, in decore domus quam dilexit diligenter officiosa, fidei domesticos altaris ministros, Christi cubicularios, tanquam propria diligens viscera; infirmis autem compatiens & egenis, ut infirmitatibus pauperum subveniret, quos venalis phisica contempnebat, didicit medicinam; sex operibus misericordie que memorantur in evangilio et septimo Tobie, octavum addidit quos pascebat infirmos curare, que, sicut animi virtute non erat inferior, sic barbata facie se ipsam exhibuit virum' (pp. 10-11).

aforsaid church at Longpré, as if willing them in succession. And presently, indeed, like a good knight of Christ, he made a blessed end there.<sup>14</sup>

There is, however, a question over this account of Aléaume's crusading career. Robert of Clari included in his long list of participants in the Fourth Crusade who left France in '1203 or 4' (actually 1202) a 'Willerames de Fontaines'.<sup>15</sup> Riant was sure that this was Aléaume, because Willerames was not a name known in the Fontaines family.<sup>16</sup> Possible objections to this argument include the fact that Robert of Clari himself came from Picardy, not far from Abbeville, and Aléaume was the name of his own brother, so one he was unlikely to get wrong. He listed Willerames de Fontaines at the very end of his roll, preceded, in fact, by his brother, Aléaume, and another Aléaume, de Sains. Another difficulty is that these three are among the *povres*, whereas Aléaume de Fontaines, at least, appears to have commanded substantial resources, and as a local, Robert must have been aware of that. By way of counter-argument, there is the fact that Robert's history survives only in one manuscript, a careless copy made only around 1300, and a mistake may have been introduced by the copyist.<sup>17</sup> Longnon, in *Les Compagnons de Villehardouin*, was inclined to accept Riant's identification.<sup>18</sup> However, the dubious identification in Robert of Clari does not give sufficient reason to cast doubt on the statement in the *Lectiones*, and since it would have been much more likely for Aléaume to return home with Philip Augustus and his compatriots and then enlist again for the Fourth Crusade, his staying on in the Holy Land is unlikely enough to be true. There is no mention of Laurette in this third *lectio*.

Aléaume was succeeded by his first-born son, Hugh, who earned the writer's praise for his generosity to the foundation at Longpré. Meanwhile, Aléaume's widow, Laurette, chose to remain a widow, with Christ as her spouse. She continued to cherish the new little church at Longpré, 'serving it like a busy bee', and left the castles which had been her dower to take up residence there with her chosen

14 'quidam de Francis qui cum exercitu ab initio venerant, repatriare volebant; sed ille Allelmus, Christi miles preclarus, iter peregrinationis arripiens, ad terram promissionis feliciter pervenit, ibique Christo militans, ceterisque festinantibus ad redditum, idignum se iudicans imperfecto redire negocio, Terre Sancte factus accola, usque ad dominice incarnationis millesimum ducentissimum quintum, in quo Grecorum Dominus contrivisset superbiam, & in manus Latinorum capta Constantinopoli Grecorum dedisset imperium, multis ibidemque gestis preclare & strenue, antequam diem clauderet extreum, sacrasque & venerabiles sanctorum reliquias quas pia sollicitudine utpote omnibus caras perquisiverat, de civitate Constantinopoli memorata, per sacerdotem quemdam capellum suum, Vilbertum nomine, ad ecclesiam suam Longiprati predictam, quasi sub testamenti serie delegavit; qui quidem postmodum, ut Christi bonus miles, ibidem beato fine quievit' (*Lectio* iii, pp. 13–14).

15 Robert de Clari, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. P. Lauer (Paris, 1924), p. 4; trans. E.H. McNeal, *The Conquest of Constantinople* (New York, 1936), p. 34.

16 Riant, ed., *Exuviae*, vol. I, p. cxxxiii.

17 Robert de Clari, trans. E.H. McNeal, *The Conquest of Constantinople*, pp. 7–10.

18 J. Longnon, *Les Compagnons de Villehardouin: recherches sur les croisés de la quatrième croisade* (Geneva, 1978), pp. 179–80.

daughter, Marie, as the companion of her widowhood. Thus both mother and son enhanced the church at Longpré.<sup>19</sup>

The central *lectio* tells the story of Wibert's journey home from Constantinople.<sup>20</sup> He claimed that in the course of this journey he saw an eclipse of the sun, which would mean he was travelling on 4 September 1206, but this does not fit the chronology, and it is one of several points which caused Riant to identify much of this *lectio* as an interpolation based on other accounts, namely those of Richard de Gerberoy and Gauthier Cornut.<sup>21</sup> When he arrived at Longpré, Wibert brought great and holy relics, and also cloths and silken adornments for the church: 'Moreover, the aforesaid Wibert brought back the seal of Christ's knight Aléaume, his master, with open letters to his wife Laurette and their son Hugh (*the account of this chaplain, indeed, made the orderly relation of this present history for us*).'<sup>22</sup> Richard, bishop of Amiens, authenticated the relics with the help of the seal and letters, and he, 'the mother' (Laurette) and others cried with joy. Hugh's brothers, Isambard and Walter, gave revenues to the same church, and Pope Innocent III took it under the protection of the Holy See.<sup>23</sup>

*Lectio viii* associates the endowment of Longpré with the translation of the face of St John the Baptist to Amiens. This section finishes with an observation that may throw some light on how the theft of relics from Constantinople was viewed in the later period: 'We should consider how and in what wise Constantinople and all Greece then lamented the despoliation of the saints, by which it was exalted and rejoiced, and from which today noble France is enriched, and the present church became famous.'<sup>24</sup> The final *lectio* brings the story up to date, that is, to the pontificate of Eugenius IV.<sup>25</sup> It is this which gives the *terminus post quem* of 1437 for the whole document.

This close reading of the *Lectiones* effectively disposes of the idea that Laurette de Saint-Valéry accompanied her husband on the Third Crusade, stayed in *Outremer*, and died in Constantinople without ever seeing her native Picardy again, as Wickersheimer so poignantly put it. It strongly suggests, rather, that she believed that 'charity begins at home', and channelled her own energies and her persuasive powers over her husband into the new ecclesiastical foundation at Longpré. She was certainly at home in 1205 to receive the chaplain Wibert and his freight of relics, and the source says explicitly that she survived her husband to enjoy a long

19 *Lectio iv*, pp. 14–16.

20 *Lectio v*, pp. 16–17.

21 Riant, ed., *Exuviae*, vol. 1, p. cxxxiii.

22 'Retulerat autem prefatus Vilbertus sigilla militis Christi, Allelmi, magistri sui, cum litteris patentibus ad eius uxorem Loretam & filium eorum Hugonem (*cuius quidem capellani relatio nobis historie presentis seriem notam fecit*)' (p. 17). Riant's parenthesis and italics.

23 *Lectio vii*, pp. 18–19.

24 'Qua in re pensandum est quod & qualiter tunc plangit Constantinopolis & omnis Grecia spolia sanctorum, quorum exaltabatur & gaudebat, de quibus hodie ditatur nobilis Franchia, & sit laudabilis presens ecclesia' (pp. 19–20).

25 *Lectio ix*, pp. 20–22.

widowhood. If the *Lectiones* cannot be held responsible for this particular excess of Wickersheimer, where did it come from? The rather amazing answer is that Wickersheimer misread his own description of Laurette which had appeared in his influential handlist of French doctors, the *Dictionnaire biographique des médecins en France au Moyen Age*.<sup>26</sup> This read:

**Laurette de Saint-Valery:** Epouse d'Aléaume de Fontaines, seigneur de Longpré au diocèse d'Amiens et de Fontaine-sur-Somme, qui partit pour la troisième croisade et mourut à Constantinople, en 1205. D'aspect viril, 'barbata facie seipsa exhibuit virum', elle était fort charitable et apprit la médecine pour soigner les pauvres.

A different author might be excused for misinterpreting that ambiguous *qui*, but it was Wickersheimer himself who, fifteen years later, gave Aléaume's crusading career to his wife and included her in his list of 'médecins qui accompagnèrent guerriers ou pèlerins'.

Having disposed of the key questions about Laurette's participation in the crusades, there remain those related to her medical skills and her appearance. The first concerns the nature and extent of her medical training. The source does say that she *learnt* medicine ('didicit medicinam'), not just that she practised it. Where might she have acquired medical knowledge and skills? It is exceedingly unlikely that she had any academic training, for universities barely existed at the time, and certainly in Picardy, and for a woman to travel to an urban centre such as Salerno, or even to Paris, would have been so extraordinary it must have merited a mention in the record. However, although theoretical medicine was just becoming a licensed occupation requiring a modicum of learning, the practical branches of medicine of the surgeon and apothecary were trades learnt by apprenticeship. The most likely case is that Laurette sought out this sort of instruction from one or more local practitioners. In the *Dictionnaire*, Wickersheimer had entries for a further 120 women 'doctors' in medieval France. Danielle Jacquart analysed the list and established that over a third (44) were midwives, wise-women or wet-nurses. Three were *sorcières* (witches). Some 30 were *barbières*, and 6 were surgeons – these two trades overlapped considerably, and Jacquart pointed out that women were not in principle prohibited from following them. They were, as is well known, excluded from the universities, and in the fourteenth century there were celebrated cases against women practitioners which succeeded on the ground that the defendant was not qualified. It is impossible to know if an unqualified male practitioner would be equally liable to prosecution. Jacquart lists only three women who seem to have acquired real medical knowledge before the fourteenth century: one of them is Laurette; another is Hersende, who served St Louis and accompanied the seventh crusade.<sup>27</sup> Outside France, Hildegard

26 2 vols (Paris, 1936), vol. 2, p. 522.

27 D. Jacquart, *Le milieu médical en France du xii<sup>e</sup> au xv<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1981), pp. 47–55.

of Bingen acquired an impressive knowledge of practical medicine in the twelfth century.<sup>28</sup>

Finally, what about the bearded appearance? The simplest explanation is that it was true, as well as remarkable enough to warrant comment in the *Lectiones*. We cannot know whether it was a lifelong condition, or developed following the menopause. There are a range of medical conditions that may result in abnormal growth of facial hair in women.<sup>29</sup> In Laurette's case, some of these are ruled out because she is known to have given birth to at least four sons and one daughter.

It would be a mistake to assume that Laurette's masculine appearance was considered freakish. In fact, she may well have been no more than an extreme example of a physiological type recognized in her own day. Hildegard of Bingen divided women into four humoral types, and her description of 'phlegmatic' women seems to fit Laurette well:

But there are certain other women whose flesh does not grow much because they have thick veins and quite healthy, white blood which contains, however, a small amount of poison which gives it its white colour. They have a severe appearance and swarthy colouring, and they are industrious and useful and have a somewhat virile mind ... And because they have thick veins they are extremely fertile with offspring and conceive easily ... But they attract men and cause them to pursue them, and so men love them ... And because they are also somewhat virile because of the life-force [lit. 'greenness'] in them, they will occasionally grow a little down around the chin.<sup>30</sup>

However, even if facial hair was a real feature of Laurette's appearance, and not considered unattractive, its inclusion in the *Lectiones* is still likely to have been disingenuous. In its immediate context, it emphasizes her strong, manly qualities ('animi virtute', as well as 'se ipsam exhibuit virum'), so that she combines in one person the nurturing of the woman and the strength of mind of the man.

Bearded ladies are found elsewhere in medieval literature, though. Earlier in the *Lectiones*, Laurette is referred to as 'felix vidua', and much of *lectio* iv is devoted to praising her decision to remain a widow. There is even a reference there to her

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28 H. Schipperges, *Hildegard of Bingen: Healing and the Nature of the Cosmos* (Princeton, NJ, 1997); Hildegard of Bingen, *On Natural Philosophy and Medicine*, ed. and trans. M. Berger (Cambridge, 1999).

29 I thank Dr Piers Mitchell for advice on this.

30 'Sed quedam alie femine sunt, quarum carnes non multum crescunt, quia grossas uenas habent et aliquantum sanum sanguinem et album, sed modicum ueneni in se continentem, unde album colorem contrahit. Et seueram faciem et subnigri coloris habent et strenue et utilles sunt ac aliquantum uirilem animum tenent ... Et quoniam grossas uenas habent, plurimum fecunde sunt in prole et facile concipiunt ... Sed uiros attrahunt et eos post se ducunt, et ideo uiri eas amant ... Et quia etiam aliquantum uiriles sunt propter uiriditatem, quam in se habent, aliquantum lanuginis ciraca mentum interdum emittunt'; Hildegard of Bingen, *Cause et cure*, ed. L. Moulinier (Berlin, 2003), pp. 126–7.

'virginity'.<sup>31</sup> So it may be that the chaste widow was being tacitly compared to a bearded virgin saint, such as Wilgefotis/Uncumber, a pagan princess who converted to Christianity and took a vow to remain virgin. In order to escape an arranged marriage, she grew a luxuriant beard, which not only persuaded her suitor to withdraw, but led to her martyrdom at the hands of her own father.<sup>32</sup> This possible allusion would suit the hagiographical nature of the *Lectiones*, which in fact praise Laurette as much as, or more than, her crusader husband.

In a completely different (but contemporary) context, the woman with a beard was a monster, as described by Gerald of Wales in his *Topographia Hibernica*. She had a waist-long beard, but 'in other respects she was only feminine in nature'.<sup>33</sup> The *Lectiones* certainly do not depict a monster, but an exceptionally able woman. Nevertheless, the crusading doctor Wickersheimer made of Laurette was just as much a creature of the imagination as was Gerald of Wales's chimera.

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31 'suum sexagesimum fructum virginitatis centesimo virtutum meritis contendebat adequare' (p. 15).

32 M. Bennett, 'Virile Latins, Effeminate Greeks and Strong women: Gender Definitions on Crusade?', in *Gendering the Crusades*, ed. S.B. Edgington and S. Lambert (Cardiff, 2001), pp. 20–21; D.H. Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (2nd edn, Oxford, 1987), s.v. Wilgefotis, pp. 437–8.

33 'sed alias muliebri natura tantum', Gerald of Wales, *Topographia Hibernica et Expugnatio Hibernica*, in *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, RS 21, vol. 5, p. 107; see also A.S. Mittman, 'The Other Close at Hand: Gerald of Wales and the "Marvels of the West"', in *The Monstrous Middle Ages*, ed. B. Bildhauer and R. Mills (Cardiff, 2003), pp. 99–103.



## Chapter 8

# Mounted Warrior Saints in Crusader Icons: Images of the Knighthoods of Christ

Jaroslav Folda

It was a pleasure to have Malcolm Barber in residence in North Carolina as a visiting and very collegial scholar in the 1990s. At that time, I was reading his important work on the Templars as well as learning about his research on the Albigensians in southern France. With this in mind, it seemed that an appropriate way to contribute to a festschrift in his honour would be to look at the imagery of crusader warrior saints, in particular mounted soldier saints, some of which from time to time have been associated with the Templars. Recent publications have focused new attention on these icons, and important new questions have been raised, the discussion of which I hope Malcolm will enjoy considering in the article below.

Attention has once again been drawn to the interest shown by crusader artists and patrons for icons of mounted soldier saints by several publications. Four such icons were included in the major exhibition, *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557)* at the Metropolitan Museum in New York, 23 March to 4 July 2004,<sup>1</sup> and these same icons then travelled to two other exhibitions of Sinai icons that followed. The first was in Athens at the Benaki Museum, 20 July–26 September 2004,<sup>2</sup> and the second was in Switzerland at the Fondation Pierre Gianadda in Martigny, 5 October–12 December 2004.<sup>3</sup> Altogether, there are a total of five icons with this imagery in the collection of the Monastery of St Catherine on Mount Sinai attributed to crusader artists. In addition, there is one other such icon of St George now in the British Museum. We also have the Freiburg Leaf, on which is found a sepia pen drawing depicting, *inter alia*, two mounted soldier saints no doubt based on a crusader icon

1 *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557)*, ed. H.C. Evans (New York, 2004).

2 *Pilgrimage to Sinai: Treasures from the Holy Monastery of St. Catherine*, ed. A. Drandaki (Athens, 2004), with an essay by T. Papamastorakis, ‘The “Crusader” Icons in the Exhibition’, pp. 46–63. The entries on the various icons in the exhibition are reproduced from the MET catalogue and translated into Greek.

3 *Trésors du Monastère de Sainte-Catherine Mont Sinaï Égypte*, ed. H.C. Evans (Martigny, 2004). The entries on the various icons in the exhibition are reproduced from the MET catalogue and translated into French.

the artist used as a model. These crusader icons of mounted soldier saints are as follows:

1. Sts George Diasorites and Theodore Stratelates with a kneeling donor, George Parisis (Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine)<sup>4</sup> (Fig. 8.1)
2. Sts Theodore and Demetrios (Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine)<sup>5</sup> (Fig. 8.2)
3. Sts Sergios and Bacchos, reverse of a bilateral icon (Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine)<sup>6</sup> (Fig. 8.3)
4. St Sergios with a kneeling female donor (Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine)<sup>7</sup> (Fig. 8.4)
5. St George with the youth of Mytilene (Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine)<sup>8</sup> (Fig. 8.5)
6. St George with the youth of Mytilene (London, British Museum)<sup>9</sup> (Fig. 8.6)
7. Sts George and Theodore (Freiburg im Breisgau, Augustinermuseum, inv. G.23, fol. 1c recto, lower register)<sup>10</sup> (Fig. 8.7).

The popularity of icons of mounted soldier saints with the crusaders was noted long ago by Kurt Weitzmann, and more recently by Robin Cormack,<sup>11</sup> but a number of interesting questions have been raised about these icons, directly or indirectly, by several recent publications. Among the most important issues to receive consideration there are the questions of origins and sources, as well as the identification of the artists. If in general the crusader icons are closely related to the tradition of Byzantine painting as has been widely observed, the question is, can we be more precise in

4 J. Folda, '231. Icon with Saints George Diasorites and Theodore Stratelates ...', in *Byzantium: Faith and Power*, ed. Evans, p. 376, and idem, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land, from the Third Crusade to the Fall of Acre, 1187–1291* (Cambridge and New York, 2005), pp. 139, 546, fig. 74.

5 J. Folda, '232. Icon with Saints Theodore and Demetrios on Horseback', in *Byzantium: Faith and Power*, ed. Evans, p. 377, and idem, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land*, pp. 330, 537, fig. 184.

6 J. Folda, '230. Two-sided Icon with the Virgin ... and Saints ...', in *Byzantium: Faith and Power*, ed. Evans, pp. 374–5, and idem, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land*, pp. 339–40, 532–3, figs 197–8.

7 J. Folda, '229. Icon with Saint Sergios on Horseback ...', in *Byzantium: Faith and Power*, ed. Evans, p. 374, and idem, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land*, pp. 339–41, 533–4, fig. 199.

8 Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land*, pp. 330, 536, fig. 185; R. Cormack and S. Mihalarias, 'A Crusader Painting of St George: *maniera greca* or *lingua franca*?', *Burlington Magazine* 126 (1984), pp. 132–41.

9 Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land*, pp. 329–30, 555, fig. 183, and Cormack and Mihalarias, 'A Crusader Painting', pp. 132–41.

10 J. Folda, 'The Freiburg Leaf: Crusader Art and *Loca Sancta* around the Year 1200', in *The Experience of Crusading, Volume 2: Defining the Crusader Kingdom*, ed. P. Edbury and J. Phillips (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 113–34, and idem, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land*, pp. 99–102.

11 K. Weitzmann, 'Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 20 (1966), pp. 71–3; Cormack and Mihalarias, 'A Crusader Painting', pp. 132–41.

discussing what the exact relationship is between crusader and Byzantine artistic developments? Our ability to consider the Byzantine tradition with regard to the imagery of these soldier saints has been enormously strengthened with the recent book by Christopher Walter on *The Warrior Saints in Byzantine Art and Tradition* and a recent article by Sharon Gerstel.<sup>12</sup> An equally important issue of origins and sources pertains to the work of other eastern Christians. What is the significance of Syrian Orthodox, Syrian Melchite, Syrian Jacobite, Maronite, Armenian or Coptic Christian artists and their painting for crusader developments? Until very recently, this issue has been little considered, but now various scholars have begun to address these important problems with studies that include or focus on images of mounted soldier saints, among which works by Lucy-Anne Hunt,<sup>13</sup> Elizabeth Bolman<sup>14</sup> and Erica Dodd<sup>15</sup> are directly relevant here. But the most recent publication to discuss these issues and focus on 'Holy Horsemen' is by Mat Immerzeel in a new journal, *Eastern Christian Art*, Volume 1 of which was published in 2004.<sup>16</sup> Immerzeel not only raises the questions of origins and sources, but also addresses difficult problems of style and iconography which it is crucial to sort out if we are to evaluate and interpret the meaning, content and function of these holy images.

## Style

At the heart of our discussion, it is essential to review the visual characteristics identified by scholars that distinguish the imagery of crusader mounted soldier saints from that of other traditions. One major characteristic is, of course, style. Within the

12 C. Walter, *The Warrior Saints in Byzantine Art and Tradition* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT, 2003). Walter does not consider Byzantine images of the warrior saints done in the crusader states. S. Gerstel, 'Art and Identity in the Medieval Morea', in *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, ed. A.E. Laiou and R.P. Mottahedeh (Washington, DC, 2001), pp. 263–85, explores the imagery of mounted soldier saints in fresco paintings of the Morea in Greece.

13 L.-A. Hunt, 'Christian Art in Greater Syria and Egypt: A Triptych of the Ascension with Military Saints Reattributed', *Al-Masaq* 12 (2000), pp. 1–36; eadem, 'A Woman's Prayer to St Sergios in Latin Syria: Interpreting a Thirteenth-century Icon at Mount Sinai', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 15 (1991), pp. 96–145.

14 *Monastic Visions: Wall Paintings in the Monastery of St Anthony at the Red Sea*, ed. E. Bolman (New Haven, CT, and London, 2002).

15 E. Dodd, *Medieval Painting in the Lebanon*, with photographs by R. Nassif (Wiesbaden, 2004), and eadem, *The Monastery of Mar Musa al-Habashi: A Study of Medieval Painting in Syria* (Toronto, 2001).

16 M. Immerzeel, 'Holy Horsemen and Crusader Banners. Equestrian Saints in Wall Paintings in Lebanon and Syria', *Eastern Christian Art* 1 (2004), pp. 29–60, with extensive working bibliography. Immerzeel also published a preliminary article on this topic: 'Divine Cavalry, Mounted Saints in Middle Eastern Christian Art', in *East and West in the Crusader States: Context – Contacts – Confrontations*, ed. K. Ciggaar and H. Teule (Louvain and Dudley, MA, 2003), pp. 265–86.

rubric of ‘crusader style’, I have analysed four variants to be found in the six crusader icons listed above. One prevalent style can be described as a Veneto-Byzantine crusader style seen in the Sinai bilateral icon with Sts Sergios and Bacchos on the reverse, and the small devotional Sinai icon of St Sergios with a kneeling female donor (Figs 8.3 and 8.4).

Both of these icons have been the subject of numerous recent discussions, and they are closely related in style. Although they are not necessarily by the same hand, they belong to a large workshop, an atelier of several artists that I am calling the ‘workshop of the soldier saints’. The style of this workshop can be characterized overall as a linear version of a Veneto-Byzantine crusader style, found in the late 1250s in Acre, which continued into the 1280s. As such, it is a major workshop style which is firmly rooted in Acre, and developed with diverse types of icons made in a variety of sizes. Several of the larger, more monumental icons are later in date, but the bilateral icon of Sts Sergios and Bacchos is the earliest of these, dating, along with the St Sergios with the female donor, to the 1260s.

Looking first at the icon of St Sergios with the female donor, we have in this panel a small devotional icon comparable in size, style and function to a number of other works done by this workshop, for example a panel with three standing soldier saints, Sts George, Theodore and Demetrios,<sup>17</sup> a panel with two standing female saints, Sts Catherine and Marina,<sup>18</sup> and a panel with a male and a female saint, St Symeon Stylites on his column and St Barbara standing.<sup>19</sup> Unlike the individual styles of most of the icons to which the panel of St Sergios with a female donor is related, the style of this icon has been the subject of extensive discussion. Originally attributed to Cyprus,<sup>20</sup> it was then discussed by Weitzmann as possibly done by an Apulian painter or one with a Venetian background.<sup>21</sup> In 1975, J. Leroy first proposed to relate this icon to the fresco paintings at Qara in Syria, a view accepted and substantially developed further by L.-A. Hunt.<sup>22</sup> When the late Doula Mouriki then argued that the artist was probably a Syrian who had been trained on Cyprus, this was further discussed by Hunt, who sees this panel as having been done in the Tripoli region by a Syrian Melchite painter for a Frankish patron, a widow possibly connected to a local Cistercian convent as a lay member.<sup>23</sup> Mat Immerzeel provides additional discussion of the imagery of the mounted soldier saints, including this icon of St Sergios, as related to the full repertory of thirteenth-century fresco painting by Greek Orthodox, Syrian Orthodox, Syrian Melchite, Syrian Jacobite and Maronite artists, in what is

17 Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land*, p. 338 (fig. 196. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 78/1118).

18 Ibid., pp. 337–8 (fig. 195. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 90/1418).

19 Ibid., pp. 336–7 (fig. 193. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 11/64).

20 G. and M. Sotiriou, *Icones du Mont Sinai*, vol. 2 (Athens, 1958), p. 171.

21 Weitzmann, ‘Icon Painting’, pp. 71–3.

22 J. Leroy, ‘Decouvertes de peintures chrétiennes en Syrie’, *Annales archéologiques arabes syriennes* 25 (1975), pp. 97–9, 104; Hunt, ‘A Woman’s Prayer’, pp. 106–10.

23 D. Mouriki, ‘Thirteenth-century Icon Painting in Cyprus’, *The Griffon* nos 1–2 (1985–86), p. 71; Hunt, ‘Christian Art’, p. 18.

today Lebanon and Syria.<sup>24</sup> In a recently published book, I maintain the view that these icons are crusader icons in the mainstream 'workshop of the soldier saints' style, done in Acre.<sup>25</sup>

The identification of the artist, however, remains to be fully explained and clarified. Two additional points can be added to affirm the idea of a possible Cypriot-influenced Syrian artist working for a crusader patron, as argued by L.-A. Hunt and seconded by M. Immerzeel. First, there are a number of mounted soldier saints images in Cyprus, in fresco painting of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Annemarie Weyl Carr informs me that these are found at Kanakaria and Asinou, as well as three other examples.<sup>26</sup> There is one at the Metamorphosis church in Sotera in the Famagusta district from the late thirteenth century, one, now damaged, by the narthex portal at St Nicholas tes Steges in Kakopetria, possibly dating from 1300 or shortly thereafter, and one in St George, Choli, in the Paphos district, from the thirteenth century. It is useful to include mention of these frescoes on Cyprus because, like those on the Syrian mainland, they are equally dissimilar in style to the icons under discussion. None the less, it is important to realize that images of mounted soldier saints were part of the Cypriot tradition that an icon painter who had been trained there or who worked there would have known, along with whatever he found when he came to the mainland. Secondly, I have argued elsewhere that the imagery of the St Sergios icon with the female donor has certain Syrian connections. This issue will be discussed below, when I address the iconography of these mounted soldier saints.

Turning now to the Sinai bilateral icon with Sts Sergios and Bacchus (reverse) and the Virgin and Child Hodegetria (obverse), several important stylistic issues must be addressed. It appears likely that the artist who painted the obverse of this icon also painted the reverse, despite the serious damage to the surface of the Virgin and Child Hodegetria image. From the painting details that remain, the style and technique of both sides of this icon appear identical. By contrast, the style of the icon of St Sergios with the female donor does not appear to be identical to that of the image of Sts Sergios and Bacchus on the bilateral icon. Despite certain obvious similarities, the panel with Sts Sergios and Bacchus displays a more elegant and more two-dimensional drawing style, a finer finish, and a more intensive decorative aesthetic, which differentiate this larger icon (94.2 x 62.6 cm) from the smaller one (28.7 x 23.2 cm). Comparison with other variants of this style, such as the St Nicholas on the exterior wing of the Acre Triptych, or the Virgin and Child η της Βατου with St John the Baptist and Moses, all standing, also by other painters, will help make these distinctions understandable. That is not to say, however, that the artist of the bilateral icon of Sts Sergios and Bacchus did not have a similar background and training to the painter of the smaller icon of St Sergios with the female donor. His

24 Immerzeel, 'Holy Horsemen', pp. 39–53.

25 Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land*, pp. 336–42.

26 My warm thanks to Annemarie Weyl Carr for sharing this information with me about the Cypriot examples of the mounted soldier saints in fresco painting.

style was closely related to that of the other artist, and it is possible that he too had a Syrian background with Cypriot training.

With this bilateral icon in mind, we must turn to a new issue raised by the appearance of an icon now in Lebanon, a bilateral icon of the Virgin and Child Hodegetria (obverse) with the Baptism of Christ (reverse) in the monastery at Kaftoun. First published with documentary photos by A. Lammens in 1996,<sup>27</sup> this icon has been the subject of an article by N. Hélou in 2003,<sup>28</sup> followed by the 2004 article of M. Immerzeel. Opinion is divided on the issue of whether the obverse and reverse were painted by the same artist, but those who have studied this icon most closely seem to agree that two separate artists worked on this panel. One artist, the more elegant, did the Virgin and Child Hodegetria, whilst a second artist, working in a simpler style that also may be found in the tiny angels in medallions on the obverse, did the Baptism. Everyone who has studied the Kaftoun bilateral icon, however, seems to agree that the closest parallel with the Virgin and Child Hodegetria image is that of the Virgin and Child Hodegetria Sinai image on the bilateral icon discussed above. With this comparison as well, there seem to be differences of opinion, but just as I have argued that there are differences between the Sinai bilateral icon image of Sts Sergios and Bacchos and that of the icon of St Sergios with the female donor, I think it is clear that the Sinai bilateral icon image of the Virgin and Child Hodegetria was done by a different hand than that of the bilateral Kaftoun Virgin and Child Hodegetria image. Again here, despite obvious general similarities, careful comparison of the two Virgins reveals important distinctions in design and handling. To cite some significant distinctions, consider the following: the pose of the Kaftoun virgin is more upright, details of the handling of the brows, eyes and mouth are different, and the nose is more frontal. The Virgin's coifed head is positioned differently inside the maphorion, farther to her left. The proportions of the child are also different, with a stockier build and a larger head. These examples, among others, are important because in a highly traditional art like icon painting, many images look similar, but slight differences can be very significant for both meaning and content as well as with regard to the identification of the artist. But given the strong similarities between these two images, there can be little doubt that the artist of the Kaftoun Virgin and Child Hodegetria worked in a style very similar to that of the Sinai bilateral Virgin and Child Hodegetria. It is also not impossible that they worked in the same workshop at one time.

Although the Virgin and Child Hodegetria images on these icons were painted by two different artists, a further issue has been raised: could they have been done in the same workshop at the same location? I think this is unlikely for several reasons. First, for the reasons stated above, I think that the Sinai bilateral icon and the Sinai

27 *Icones du Liban*, ed. A. Lammens, Catalogue of an exhibition organized by the Mairie of the Ve Arrondissement and the Centre Culturel du Panthéon, with the support of the Ministère de la Culture (Paris, 1996), pp. 21–7, nos 1 and 2.

28 N. Hélou, 'L'Icone bilatérale de la Vierge de Kaftoun au Liban: une oeuvre d'art syro-byzantin à l'époque des croisés', *Chronos* 7 (2003), pp. 101–31.

St Sergios with the female donor icon are both closely related to, indeed part of, the mainstream style of the 'workshop of the soldier saints' which I believe was located in Acre. Secondly, whilst it is possible that the artist of the Kaftoun bilateral icon of the Virgin and Child Hodegetria worked for a time in that workshop as well, or at least used a crusader icon from that workshop as his model, I do not think that he worked in Acre when he did this icon. It is much more likely that the Kaftoun bilateral icon was done in the region of Tripoli, possibly even in the monastery of Kaftoun, under the influence of work from the major crusader centre in Acre. Thirdly, the Virgin and Child Hodegetria image on the Kaftoun icon is done by a different artist from that of the Baptism of Christ image on the reverse of this icon. No icon, Byzantine or crusader, now in the collection of the Monastery of St Catherine on Mount Sinai has this unusual combination. No Byzantine or crusader image of the Baptism of Christ now at Sinai has the imagery of King David and Isaiah that appears on the Kaftoun image, whilst the appearance of inscriptions in Greek, Syriac and Arabic on the same image attest to the special nature of the commission for this icon. The fact that the artist of the Baptism may have painted the images of the angels in medallions on the front side of this bilateral icon clearly seems to link the front and the back of this bilateral icon in terms of where it was produced. But the fact is that the style of the 'Baptism of Christ' artist is not as closely related to the 'workshop of the soldier saints' style as is that of the Virgin and Child Hodegetria painter. Finally, the idea that the Kaftoun icon may come from the region of Tripoli is not unique. I have argued a similar case for an icon of St Marina now in the Menil Foundation in Houston. Given the vigorous painting activity in the county of Tripoli and neighbouring Syria during the period up to the fall of Tripoli in 1289 in Greek Orthodox, Syrian Orthodox, Syrian Melchite, Syrian Jacobite and Maronite churches, as argued by E. Dodd and M. Immerzeel, it is not surprising to find evidence of icon painting as well as frescoes in this region. The problem has been to locate the icons in question. It appears that the Kaftoun icon may be a very important example of what there was.

A second important style found in the crusader icons of mounted soldier saints is the Franco-Byzantine crusader style seen in the icons of Sts Theodore and Demetrios, and the two icons of St George with the youth of Mytilene (Figs 8.2, 8.5 and 8.6). The large rolling eyes, stocky proportions of the figures, red and blue colouring of the costumes, and the loosely brushed and very painterly quality of the handling of the figures, drapery and landscape exemplify this style, and serve to link the Sinai icon of Sts Theodore and Demetrios very closely with both the British Museum St George icon and the inner wings of the Acre Triptych, which contain scenes of the Life of Christ and the Virgin. The other icon of St George, now in the collection of St Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai, is heavily damaged, and because of this, it is more difficult to evaluate it stylistically. However, it is certainly not by the same artist as the British Museum icon; one notes the very large head, the more complicated drapery of his billowing cloak, the somewhat flattened and more schematic horse, the different arrangement and character of the landscape, not to mention the reversal of the pose of the horse and the nature of the raised gesso halo without vine-scroll patterns.

The identity of these crusader artists, apparently born in the Latin kingdom and working in a Franco-Byzantine crusader style, seems to be rooted in their training in the Holy Land. It was a training that seems to have combined strong French and Byzantine traditions, a training that they probably received in Acre because of the firm links they seem to have had with the revived Acre school of painting regenerated by Louis IX in the early 1250s. I have proposed to see the artists of all three of these mounted saints icons as working in Acre. Robin Cormack has argued that the British Museum St George icon was done at Lydda, the site of the shrine of St George in the Latin kingdom; he has even argued that the same hand may have done the icons of Sts Theodore and Demetrios on the one hand, and the British Museum St George on the other.<sup>29</sup> I prefer to attribute these mounted soldier saint icons in the Franco-Byzantine crusader style to Acre, for several reasons. First, Acre is known to have been a large centre where many artists were at work, where the Franco-Byzantine crusader style took root from the time of Louis IX. Second, Acre was the military headquarters for the Latin kingdom during this entire period. That means that it was mainly here that new and old crusaders and their families – likely patrons for such holy images of soldier saints – arrived, lived and departed, and here that the strongest link with the Franco-Byzantine style in manuscript painting can be found. It may be that the St George icons were done with Lydda in mind, but in the absence of any more specific evidence, I prefer to think that these icons were done in Acre, possibly for Lydda, not in the much more limited artistic environs of Lydda itself. All three certainly date to the third quarter of the thirteenth century, but a date in the 1260s is likely.

A third style among the crusader icons of the mounted soldier saints is found in the icon of Sts George Diasorites and Theodore Stratelates with a kneeling donor, George Parisis (Fig. 8.1). This icon is quite unusual stylistically in several ways. First, it is strongly Byzantinizing in the handling of the military figures, both in their costume and their facial types, aspects fully in keeping with the Greek inscriptions that provide the specific titles indicated and the Greek donor. In contrast to this, we find the design of the rather diminutive, even toy-like, horses striking, with their tiny faces and their decoration with unique tassels on their fetlocks. These aspects appear to be reflections of a Franco-Byzantine crusader style along with the complementary red and blue colouring of the costumes and the dramatic flame-like shapes of their cloaks decorated with substantial golden highlights. This chrysography is remarkable here; it is not found in other crusader images of mounted soldier saints, but it is frequently found on other, mostly later, crusader icons at Sinai.

The somewhat exotic appearance of this icon, which has certain general similarities to the drawings on the earlier Freiburg leaf, parallels with Byzantine icon painting and links with the later Franco-Byzantine crusader style from mid-century, makes this work singular in character and difficult to date. Though it is usually dated after 1250, it may have been painted earlier, possibly as early as c. 1225. Whatever consensus we may eventually arrive at on the date, however, two additional points

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29 Cormack and Mihilaris, 'A Crusader Painting', pp. 132–41.

seem certain. First, the artist must have been a crusader painter born in the east, and second, he was working for a Greek patron named George Parisis. The patron is seen kneeling, represented as a tiny suppliant figure, beneath the hoof of St George's horse, and he is named in the Greek inscription located in the lower-right section of the icon. It is important to stress that although this figure has frequently been identified as 'George of Paris', as if he were a pilgrim from Paris, the evidence of what the inscription says indicates that Parisis is a family name.<sup>30</sup> Two additional facts seem to corroborate that interpretation: first, that the inscriptions are all in Greek, and second, that this Greek patron apparently specified that the two saints be given explicit identifying epithets: St George Diasorites, rarely found, and St Theodore Stratelates.

The identity of the artist and the location where he worked are still matters of discussion. I have proposed to see him as a crusader painter, born in the east, but other suggestions have been advanced, most notably that of Lucy-Anne Hunt, who has suggested that he might be a Syrian Melchite working in the county of Tripoli. Although clearly the imagery of mounted soldier saints was very popular in the region around Tripoli, as both she and Mat Immerzeel have argued, the style of the artist of this icon, based on the points made above, seems to relate more to the work done in Acre, or possibly even on Sinai. It may be that further research on the patron, George Parisis, can help to shed additional light on these difficult issues.

Finally, a fourth style is seen in the crusader images of mounted soldier saints in the sepia drawing on parchment of two soldier saints now in Freiburg im Breisgau (Fig. 8.7). The consensus seems to be that this artist was a German from the Upper Rhineland, perhaps a pilgrim who came to the Holy Land at the time of, or just after, the so-called German Crusade of 1197–98. It is significant that this artist is a westerner who was imitating what appears to be a crusader icon of Sts George and Theodore in this drawing. The style largely reflects his German background, but the iconography of these saints clearly indicates certain features that we find in other crusader icons, discussed below. Thus we can refer to him as working in a Germano-crusader style. One significant aspect of this drawing, moreover, is the evidence that it provides for crusader icons of soldier saints at this early date, in the late 1190s: that is, at a time when we do not have any extant icons of this type.

It is significant that these several icons of mounted soldier saints associated with the crusaders have been identified, and that their stylistic characteristics are richly diverse, suggesting both the variety of artists that worked on them, and the different patrons, male and female, who ordered them. The question of where they were

<sup>30</sup> See, Folda, '231. Icon with Saints George Diasorites and Theodore Stratelates ...', in *Byzantium: Faith and Power*, ed. Evans, p. 376. I am grateful to my colleagues Demetrios Tsamis and Angela Hero for their research assistance with this issue. In my *Crusader Art in the Holy Land*, pp. 139, 546, fig. 74, George is mistakenly referred to as 'from Paris'. Valentino Pace first argued correctly that Parisis was a family name in his article, 'Italy and the Holy Land: Import – Export, 2, The Case of Apulia', in *Crusader Art in the Twelfth Century*, ed. J. Folda (Oxford, 1982), p. 254.

done is still very difficult to ascertain with certainty, but Acre and Sinai remain the primary possibilities, although arguments have been presented for other locations with important holy sites or established monastic centres, such as Lydda or the region of Tripoli, as indicated. It is, however, worth noting that if each of the icons and the drawing (reflecting an icon) that we have discussed were done by a different artist as we have argued, then we have evidence of six different crusader artists born and trained in the Holy Land, as well as Cyprus in some cases, and one other, the German artist of the Freiburg leaf, who came to the Latin kingdom from the west, perhaps as a pilgrim, and used a crusader icon as a model. It is further significant that some of these crusader artists appear to have been Syrian-born, and that they might have been eastern Christians working for crusader patrons in a crusader workshop situation, such as the postulated 'workshop of the soldier saints' in Acre.

## Iconography

In addition to the distinctive crusader stylistic characteristics combining Byzantine and other traditions, there are certain iconographic features of these icons with mounted soldier saints that have also contributed to their identification as crusader work. These features vary from icon to icon, but collectively they include the following aspects: red or black haloes decorated with pearls (= white dots), jewelled diadems, torques or pearlled necklaces, jewelled cuffs and fibulae for their cloaks, long tunics, and spurs on their boots. We also sometimes see pearls or studs on the tack of the horse, jewels, tassels or bows on the rear part of the harness called the 'crupper',<sup>31</sup> handsomely decorated saddles often painted with red or white cross designs, girths or cinches under the belly of the horses decorated with bold geometric designs, and even in one case tassels on the fetlocks of the horses. The soldiers wear various types of armour. Unlike the images of western knights, they wear no helmets, but are armed with spears, swords, and even bows and arrows, the latter sometimes carried in elaborately decorated box quivers. Finally, some of the crusader soldier saints carry banners, flags or pennants, usually given a red cross on a white ground. Some crosses are equal-armed, and some are Latin-type crosses with long horizontal and short vertical elements. In addition to these iconographic features, some additional

<sup>31</sup> The crupper is part of the tack or harness, which is attached to the rear of the saddle and runs under the horse's tail to prevent the saddle from slipping forward. Cf. S. Muir, *Saddlery and Horse Equipment* (London, 1999), pp. 24–5; *The New Book of Saddlery and Tack*, ed. C. Henderson (New York, 1998), pp. 151–3. It is interesting that the use of a crupper as part of the tack is common in the Near East, as seen in icon painting in the thirteenth century, but it is conspicuously absent in the detailed imagery of such famous gothic works from France as the Morgan Old Testament Picture Book = the Maciejowski Bible, Morgan MS. 638. See most recently, *The Book of Kings: Art, War, and the Morgan Library's Medieval Picture Bible*, ed. W. Noel and D. Weiss (Baltimore, MD, and London, 2002). The tack of the horses on the icons of warrior saints done in the Near East is sufficiently remarkable as to invite further study.

decorative elements are selectively noted, including the presence of chrysography on some saints<sup>32</sup> and the çintamani design on others.<sup>33</sup>

The distinctive iconographic features that appear on these icons identified as being associated with crusader artists and/or crusader patrons are significant because, whilst no single feature necessarily appears on every crusader icon, many features appear on all of them. Clearly, some of the features must have to do with the choices made by the patrons of these icons. With regard to banners, for example, it is interesting that the images of St Sergios on the Sinai icons of St Sergios with the female donor and Sts Sergios and Bacchos (Figs 8.3 and 8.4) are given spears and comparable banners featuring three split flat-end streamers and the red Latin cross on a white field. In contrast to this, the two figures on the Sinai icon of St Theodore and St George (Fig. 8.1) are both given more or less comparable banners on spears featuring the banner with three pointed streamers and equal-armed red crosses on a white field, but without the bow, arrow and quiver armaments. This usage clearly suggests that the red cross on a white field banner carried a generalized crusader significance. We note that this red cross on a white field banner was not used in Byzantine imagery during the thirteenth century.<sup>34</sup>

Two questions arise from these observations. First, does the red cross on a white ground possibly signify anything other than this generic crusader reference, that is, could it refer more specifically to a Military Order, as has been suggested? Secondly, what is the significance of this crusader banner being carried by St Sergios in particular? With regard to the issue of banners or standards of the Military Orders, it appears that the red cross on a white ground was not used by any Military Order in the Near East. Even though the Templars wore the red cross on their garments, the Templar battle standard is well known to have been a long narrow vertical rectangle, *argent* with a *chief sable*, that is, a white standard topped by a broad band of black. This is the famous *gonfalon baudent*, or the piebald standard. We know about this standard from the Rule of the Templars.<sup>35</sup> The Hospitaller standard was a white cross on a red field,<sup>36</sup> and the standard of the Teutonic knights was a black cross on a white

32 On the crusader use of chrysography in icon painting, see Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land*, pp. 454–8.

33 On the use of çintamani as an ornamental design on the Sinai icon of St Sergios with a female donor, see J. Folda, 'Crusader Artistic Interactions with the Mongols in the Thirteenth Century: Figural Imagery, Weapons, and the Çintamani Design'. This study is forthcoming in a volume of papers from the April 2005 Symposium held at the Index of Christian Art, Princeton University, on the topic 'Artistic Interchange between the Eastern and Western Worlds in the Medieval Period'.

34 See Walter, *The Warrior Saints*.

35 See M. Barber, *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 179–80, 188, 193, 219.

36 Immerzeel's 'Holy Horsemen', p. 46, pl. 19, and 56–7, has a reproduction of St Bacchos at Mar Musa carrying a red flag with a white cross. The photograph published by Erica Dodd in *The Frescoes of Mar Musa al-Habashi*, pl. 28, shows the fresco in its pre-restoration state and the flag is not visible, but her descriptive analysis on p. 51 notes that

field. As is well known, these banners or standards were specifically represented as such by Matthew Paris in the mid-thirteenth century along with many other heraldic devices.<sup>37</sup>

With regard to the figure of St Sergios, it is notable that among the crusader icons of mounted soldier saints and the fresco images of mounted soldier saints extant in Syria, at Qara and at Mar Musa al-Habashi, it is St Sergios who is even more prominent than St George in terms of carrying a crusader standard featuring a red cross on a white ground.<sup>38</sup> It seems that one reason for this may be the cult of St Sergios in Syria, at Resafa; details of the origins and history of the cult site there have recently been discussed by D. van de Zande.<sup>39</sup> Resafa in the thirteenth century was in the hands of both the Mongols and the Mamluks, certainly not the crusaders, but the veneration of St Sergios did not diminish during this period. The importance of St Sergios (together with Bacchos) as a saint venerated by the crusaders, may also derive from the fact that they were historically known to be soldiers who were martyred for their faith. But quite apart from the importance of these saints, especially St Sergios, the Sinai bilateral icon image of Sts Sergios and Bacchos is unique among crusader icons in representing the two saints wearing the *maniakion* around their necks, that is, the torque which was an important attribute of these two figures in the Byzantine tradition, although it appears as an iconographic element infrequently in Byzantine art.<sup>40</sup> It is not known why this icon includes the *maniakion* whereas the Sinai icon of St Sergios with the female donor does not. One possibility is to attribute this to the details of the commission from the patron, and/or to the icon model that our crusader painter was using. But whatever the source, the appearance of the *maniakion* shows a remarkable knowledge of, and sensitivity to, both the Byzantine tradition and the details of the cult of this saint, buried at Resafa in Syria.

Even with the absence of the *maniakion*, the image on the small icon of St Sergios with the female donor is remarkable in its own way. Here, St Sergios is

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the saint 'carries a flag with a white cross on a red-orange ground ...'. Immerzeel's colour plate of this fresco shows it recently restored, and raises the question of what relationship this image might have with the Hospitaller Order, since St Bacchos clearly carries a Hospitaller standard.

37 See, for example, the *Chronica Majora* of Matthew Paris, published in S. Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris in the Chronica Majora* (Berkeley, CA, Los Angeles, CA, and London, 1987), pp. 90–91, 239, 289. See also H. Nicholson, *The Knights Templar: A New History* (Stroud, 2001), pp. 30, 166.

38 According to the descriptive analyses given by Immerzeel, 'Holy Horsemen', pp. 53–6, none of the mounted soldier saints in frescoes extant in Lebanon can be identified clearly because of their damaged and fragmentary condition, hence none can be discussed with regard to the issue of St George or St Sergios with the red cross on a white ground banner.

39 D. van de Zande, 'The Cult of St Sergius in its Socio-Political Context', *Eastern Christian Art* 1 (2004), pp. 141–52. See also E. Key Fowden, *The Barbarian Plain: St Sergius between Rome and Iran* (Berkeley, CA, Los Angeles, CA, and London, 1999).

40 Walter, *The Warrior Saints*, pp. 153–5.

represented with an elegant cloak decorated with the çintamani design, a design usually appearing in elegant silks which may have been inspired by the Mongols, along with the elaborately decorated box quiver that both figures of St Sergios carry on these two icons.<sup>41</sup> This icon is unique among crusader mounted soldier saint icons for including the çintamani design, and the only other such representation to include it is apparently the fresco image of St Bacchos at Mar Musa al-Habashi.<sup>42</sup> The significance of the donor on this icon in relation to the special imagery of St Sergios armed as a *turcopole* is also important. I have made the case elsewhere that the conspicuous presence of the bow, arrows and box quiver on this image of St Sergios, armaments not found in his representations in the Byzantine tradition, is meant to link him to the light cavalry bowmen, or *turcopoles*, who fought regularly in crusader armies in the thirteenth century.<sup>43</sup> Perhaps this icon was commissioned by this woman to honour a *turcopole* soldier who came from Resafa, or the region in Syria nearby. Thus, perhaps we should consider whether the kneeling female donor, whom L.-A. Hunt rightly described as a Frankish woman, might be a Frankish woman who was married to an eastern Christian husband. In any case, what is indisputably clear is that these two icons now in Sinai – the bilateral icon with Sts Sergios and Bacchos, and the small icon of St Sergios with a female donor – are strikingly and distinctly linked to the crusaders, to Syria, and very likely to the interpenetration of crusader and eastern Christian artistic traditions. As such, they are important examples that open the way for and may stimulate further consideration of the interplay between the crusaders and the eastern Christians, artistically and otherwise.

## Conclusions

There are other aspects of these icons that merit further discussion, but within the confines of this paper it remains to offer some conclusions about the icons and the arguments presented above. First, Mat Immerzeel's recent study enables us to see the larger context of these crusader icons more fully, by focusing on the imagery of the mounted soldier saint in fresco painting in Syria and the Lebanon by Syrian Orthodox, Syrian Melchite, Syrian Jacobite and Maronite, as well as Greek Orthodox painters. The full dynamics, inherent characteristics, developments and implications of this artistic milieu are complex, and remain to be fully worked-out and understood, but the relevance and significance of the eastern Christian artistic work, as seen here in terms of the mounted soldier saints, is unquestionable. It appears evident that the crusaders drew inspiration for their icons of mounted soldier saints from both the Byzantine and the eastern Christian artistic traditions. From this, it should also be clear that the eastern Christian painting tradition in Syria and Palestine, quite apart

41 On the possible Mongol influence behind the appearance of çintamani and these box quivers, see my forthcoming article cited in note 33 above.

42 Immerzeel, 'Holy Horsemen', pl. 19. Note that here St Bacchos has the çintamani design on his tunic as well as on his cloak.

43 Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land*, pp. 339–42.

from the Byzantine, that is to say, purely Greek Orthodox tradition, is an important factor in understanding the art of the crusaders in the Holy Land.

Second, Mat Immerzeel's study also focuses attention on the style and iconography of the warrior saints imagery in the thirteenth century which is related to the crusader icons. I have argued above that the crusader images remain distinct in style from those found in the fresco painting of Lebanon and Syria, although they share certain aspects of its iconography. None the less, in the production of icons we have identified the 'workshop of the soldier saints' style from Acre as being closely related to the style of the Virgin and Child Hodegetria from Kaftoun. Indeed, the Virgin of Kaftoun appears to have its own special character, and also to be essentially distinct in style from the traditions of Greek Orthodox, Syrian and Maronite fresco painting in Lebanon and Syria.

Third, whilst it is apparent that the crusader mounted soldier saints icons in question were painted by artists who were effectively trained in the east, whether in Acre, Sinai, Cyprus, in the northern crusader states or in Syria, or some combination thereof, I have argued that they were mostly crusader painters. To clarify this point, a crusader artist was normally someone born in the east, usually of Frankish but also possibly of other Near Eastern ancestry, who was trained in the crusader states; a crusader artist was not normally a westerner who was working in the Holy Land, like the Freiburg im Breisgau artist.<sup>44</sup> Having said this, it is very possible, indeed likely, that some commissions from crusader patrons could have been carried out by eastern Christian artists as well, be they Greek or Syrian or Maronite. Thus 'crusader art' can be understood as having been done by 'crusader artists', or as work done by Near Eastern artists who were local Christians but were working for 'crusader patrons'. In sum, the study of icons of mounted warrior saints has proved to be an important *entrée* into the complexities of the painting of holy images in the Near East during the crusader period in the thirteenth century. Although the exact identification of these artists still remains uncertain, and the localization of where the panel paintings were done is still problematic, the new evidence and the contributions of many scholars in recent studies offer certainty that new light will be shed on these problems, and hope that the resolution of these thorny issues can be achieved in the future.

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44 We know of very few westerners who were trained in the west, came to the Holy Land and worked there as artists. The Freiburg im Breisgau artist is one; another is the Paris-Acre Master who was trained in Paris and then came to Acre to work in the 1280s. On the latter, see Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land*, pp. 412–33, 495–503.



Figure 8.1 Sts George Diasorites and Theodore Stratelates with a kneeling donor, George Parisis (Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine).

Source: Reproduced through the courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai.

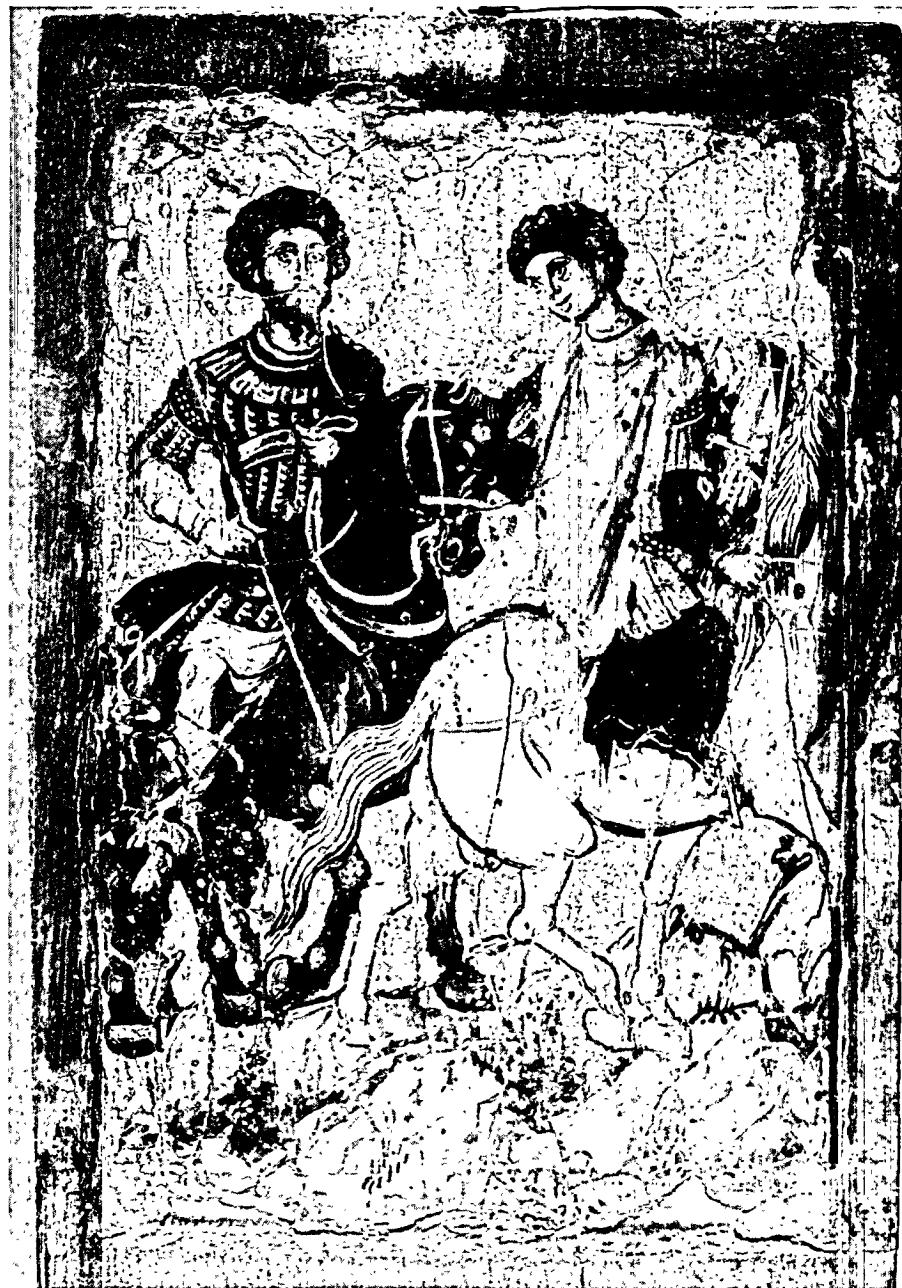


Figure 8.2 Sts Theodore and Demetrios (Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine).  
Source: Reproduced through the courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai.



Figure 8.3 Sts Sergios and Bacchos, reverse of a bilateral icon (Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine).

Source: Reproduced through the courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai.



Figure 8.4 St Sergios with a kneeling female donor (Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine).

*Source: Reproduced through the courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai.*



Figure 8.5 St George with the youth of Mytilene (Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine).

Source: Reproduced through the courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai.



Figure 8.6 St George with the youth of Mytilene (London, British Museum).  
*Source: Reproduced by courtesy of the British Museum, London.*



Figure 8.7 Sts George and Theodore (Freiburg im Breisgau, Augustinermuseum, inv. G.23, fol. 1c recto, lower register).

*Source: Reproduced by courtesy of the Augustinermuseum, Freiburg im Breisgau.*



## Chapter 9

# ‘The Common Corps of Christendom’: Thomas More and the Crusading Cause

Norman Housley

Paradoxically, whilst neither Christendom nor the crusade has proved easy to define with precision, the relationship between them is clear. Ideologically, crusading represented the mobilization of Christendom’s military and devotional resources under the aegis of papal authority, in order to achieve goals that were represented as being of central importance to all Catholics. For that reason, attempts to set a crusade in motion often had the effect of highlighting the various tensions that festered just below the smooth surface of the *res publica christiana*. A good deal of Malcolm Barber’s published work has been concerned with exploring these tensions and analysing the violence that occurred when the fuel of latent antagonisms was ignited by crusading rhetoric. This interest started with his postgraduate research into the trial of the Templars, but it has manifested itself also in his essays on the *pastoureaux* of 1251 and 1320, and on the outburst of hostility towards the Jews and lepers in France in 1321.<sup>1</sup> It comes as no surprise that several of these events occurred in the early fourteenth century, when reactions to the loss of the Holy Land in 1291, a volatile mix of grief and recrimination, found expression not just in bouts of planning for the launch of a recovery crusade, but also in the search for a group within Christendom that could be blamed for the loss of God’s favour, and punished accordingly. At that point, the ideals associated with crusading still produced substantial resonance, affecting much of the political, religious and cultural life of all social groups. Over the course of the next two centuries, that resonance diminished considerably, and with some exceptions its social reach also contracted. But even at the time of the Reformation, some people were still susceptible to the appeal of crusading, whilst the ideal of Christendom remained a reference point that was incessantly invoked in public discourse and international diplomacy. As a result, ambivalent or hostile responses towards papal attempts to revive the crusade, as a means of defending Christendom against the advance of the Ottoman Turks,

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<sup>1</sup> M. Barber, *The Trial of the Templars* (Cambridge, 1978); idem, ‘The Crusade of the Shepherds in 1251’, in *Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Meeting of the Western Society for French History*, ed. J.F. Sweets (Lawrence, KS, 1984), pp. 1–23; idem, ‘The Pastoureaux of 1320’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 32 (1981), pp. 143–66; idem, ‘Lepers, Jews and Moslems: the Plot to overthrow Christendom in 1321’, *History* 66 (1981), pp. 1–17.

provide revealing evidence of the many cracks that existed in the glittering ideal of a 'common corps of Christendom'.<sup>2</sup>

There are good reasons for supposing that the group most expert in exposing these cracks would be the northern humanists, personified, if not 'led', by the towering figure of Erasmus. They disliked war of any kind on the grounds of the physical and moral damage that it inflicted, and they especially deplored its glorification in chivalry. They were critical of the abuses that were generated by the laity's obsession with salvation through works, of which the sale of crusade indulgences was a prime example. They were suspicious of the real intentions of both the ecclesiastical and the secular authorities in society. It is certainly the case that Erasmus held such views and that his comments on the crusading plans of Pope Leo X and his successors, which can be found in his letters as well as in a number of his lengthier works, were sceptical and bitingly caustic.<sup>3</sup> Anybody looking for a rounded condemnation of crusading at this time need search no further than Erasmus's *Utilissima consultatio de bello contra Turcos inferendo* of 1530. For numerous reasons, he considered the promotion of a crusade unpalatable even as a means of saving Christians from the threat of Turkish conquest and rule. He accepted that this task must be addressed, and the best way to do it would be by converting the Turks; failing that, a war that was both organized and managed by Christendom's leading secular powers was the only acceptable way forward.<sup>4</sup>

One might expect Thomas More to have agreed with his friend's critique. A letter written to More on 5 March 1518 carried some of Erasmus's most ironic comments *vis-à-vis* Leo X's plans: 'The pope and the princes have several new plays in rehearsal, using as a pretext a frightful war against the Turks.'<sup>5</sup> *Praise of Folly*, the *jeu d'esprit* that Erasmus first published in 1511, and which encapsulated so much of the reforming agenda of the northern humanists, was prefaced by a letter to the dedicatee in whose London home it was written and whose name was punned in the title (*Moriae encomium*).<sup>6</sup> Writing before Leo X's attempt to launch a crusade, Erasmus made only one passing remark about crusading, but warfare, an unreflective reliance on salvation by works, greedy clerics, bellicose prelates

2 Up-to-date treatment in G. Poumarède, *Pour en finir avec la croisade. Mythes et réalités de la lutte contre les Turcs aux xvie et xviie siècles* (Paris, 2004). For England, the studies by Franklin Le Van Baumer retain value: 'The Church of England and the Common Corps of Christendom', *Journal of Modern History* 16 (1944), pp. 1–21; *idem*, 'The Conception of Christendom in Renaissance England', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 6 (1945), pp. 131–56; *idem*, 'England, the Turk, and the Common Corps of Christendom', *American Historical Review* 50 (1945), pp. 26–48.

3 N. Housley, 'A Necessary Evil? Erasmus, the Crusade, and War against the Turks', in *The Crusades and their Sources. Essays presented to Bernard Hamilton*, ed. J. France and W.J. Zajac (Aldershot, 1998), pp. 259–79, at pp. 262–6.

4 *Ibid.*, pp. 267–79.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 264.

6 R. Marius, *Thomas More: A Biography* (London, 1984), pp. 79–97.

and the extravagances of courtly life were amongst his key targets.<sup>7</sup> Thematically and stylistically, there is a close congruence between *Praise of Folly* and More's own dazzling literary exercise, *Utopia* (1516). In Book One, More compiled a list of contemporary ills that had a good deal in common with those lampooned by Erasmus five years earlier, in the context of the debate about whether humanists could influence government for the good by accepting public office. Thus many soldiers were just thieves in uniform; luxury, display and waste formed the social aspirations of all; and kings placed supreme value on war and conquest.<sup>8</sup> There are few more ironic passages in humanist literature than Hythloday's remark that: 'In Europe ... and especially in these regions where the Christian faith and religion prevail, the dignity of treaties is everywhere kept sacred and inviolable. This is partly because the princes are all so just and virtuous, partly also from the awe and reverence that everyone feels for the Popes.'<sup>9</sup>

The society depicted in Book Two of *Utopia* displays the reverse situation. The Utopians 'despise war as an activity fit only for beasts', and 'unlike almost every other people in the world, they think nothing so inglorious as the glory won in battle'.<sup>10</sup> They try to avoid sending their own people to fight, offering rewards for the assassination of the enemy's leaders and preferring to hire the services of the brutish and expendable Zapoletes.<sup>11</sup> It is inconceivable that the elected and accountable political leaders of Utopia would engage in the dissimulation referred to by Erasmus in the context of Pope Leo's crusade, because they rule for the benefit of all. It is similarly hard to imagine the Utopians being corrupted by the excesses of salvation through works, since their religion is shaped by reflective piety and a highly practical charity: 'Some tend the sick; others repair roads, clean ditches, rebuild bridges, dig turf, sand, or stones; still others fell trees and cut them up, and transport wood, grain or other commodities into the cities by wagon.'<sup>12</sup> In any case, the absence of money in Utopia removed the possibility of financial gain, which critics of indulgences had always viewed as the main reason for their proliferation. Without entering the interpretative minefield that surrounds its author's intentions, it is worth pointing out that the enthusiastic response accorded to the first edition of *Utopia* by other humanists showed that they at least, including Erasmus, believed that More had depicted an ideal society, even if its name ('No-place') could be taken as expressing his pessimism about the chances of its being fully realized.<sup>13</sup> In such a society, crusading as espoused by Leo X and his curia clearly had no place. From a

7 Erasmus, *Praise of Folly*, trans. B. Radice, ed. A.H.T. Levi (London, repr. 1993), pp. 6 (anti-Turkish rhetoric), 37 (war), 64 (indulgences), 66 (greedy priests), 105 (secular rulers), 109 (princes of the Church), 110–11 (bellicose prelates).

8 More, *Utopia*, ed. G.M. Logan and R.M. Adams (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 16–17, 20, 29–31.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 86.

10 *Ibid.*, p. 87.

11 *Ibid.*, pp. 89–92.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 100.

13 *Ibid.*, pp. 114–32, for the early reception of *Utopia* by More's fellow humanists.

reading of *Utopia* alone, one would assume that Erasmus and More spoke with the same voice.<sup>14</sup>

But More's views were not as straightforward as this implies. This becomes clear when we consider two works written towards the end of his life, in which he took an approach towards the issues associated with crusading that was more direct, and arguably more revealing, than anything that *Utopia* has to teach us. The first work was *The Debellation of Salem and Byzance*, round four in his protracted polemic with the legal reformer Christopher St German. More wrote *The Debellation* in October 1533, during the period between his resignation as Lord Chancellor and his imprisonment in the Tower. In *Salem and Byzance*, St German had argued that the reining in of the English Church's excessive legal privileges would re-establish the proper balance between the kingdom's laity and spirituality. One benefit would be that the two could then proceed, 'the one with prayour, the other with power, ayenst the most cruell ennemis of all Christen religion, that are the Turkes, and all the cursed secte of Mahumete, whiche hath done more hurt to the christen feithe, then any other sect hath done, sith Christis feith began'.<sup>15</sup> More's response was to applaud the sentiment of favouring a crusade, 'the vaynquysshing of the great turke and conquerynge of the holy land', but to take issue with St German on the best way to achieve it: 'I mysse lyke mych agayn, that as he wold dylate the fayth, by force of sworde in farre cuntres hense; so he laboreth to chaunge and take away the good and holsome lawes, wherby the fayth is preserved here at home'.<sup>16</sup> St German's own riposte, which came only after More's execution in 1535, was to claim that Henry VIII's reform of the Church was more pleasing to God than any crusade would be: 'more plesaunte to god ... then it were to endeavour theym self to dryve all turkes, sarysyns, and other infidels owte of all contreyes that they have wrongfully taken from Cristen men'.<sup>17</sup>

The international background to More's exchange with St German was the Turkish defeat of the Hungarians and their occupation of much of Hungary. For St German and More, a crusade would have as its goal not just the recovery of the two great patriarchal cities of Jerusalem and Constantinople (from which both tracts derived their name), but the liberation of thousands of Christians who were currently doomed to live under Muslim rule. What the latter entailed was addressed by More in the other work he wrote in this period, *The Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulation*. This was one of More's last works, written after he was imprisoned in the Tower in April 1534. I have argued elsewhere that this contemplative treatise represents the most refined treatment that was composed on the popular and multi-faceted idea of

14 On this, see Marius, *Thomas More*, pp. 76–7, 86–7, 95.

15 Christopher St German, 'Salem and Bizance', in *The Complete Works of St Thomas More* (hereafter *CWSTM*), vol. 10, ed. J. Guy et al. (New Haven, CT, 1987), pp. 323–92, at p. 383.

16 Thomas More, 'The Debellation of Salem and Byzance', in *CWSTM*, vol. 10, at p. 222.

17 J. Guy, 'The later career of Christopher St German (1534–1541)', Appendix C in *CWSTM*, vol. 10, at p. 413.

'turkishness'.<sup>18</sup> The point to note at the moment is the precise timing of the dialogue that More imagines between two Hungarians, Antony (who voices More's views) and his nephew, Vincent: 1527–29, the aftermath of the destruction of the Hungarian royal army at the battle of Mohács (1526). More was very familiar with that period because he had occupied a position at the heart of the king's business. It was only because of a temporary absence from court that he did not read out to Henry VIII Wolsey's letter passing on news of the disaster.<sup>19</sup> This gives depth if not verisimilitude to the dialogue, in which Antony and Vincent anticipate Ottoman conquest and the pressure to convert to Islam that would ensue. They are conscious that this conquest will be aided and abetted by Hungary's 'internal Turk', the *vaivoda* János Zápolyai, who was allied to the sultan: 'for there ys no born Turke so cruell to christen folke, as is the false christen that falleth fro the faith'.<sup>20</sup> More wrote in a reflective and moving way about the importance of adhering to one's faith in such circumstances, resisting all the pressures and blandishments to convert to Islam, since nothing that happened on earth could compare with the joys of Heaven and the pains of Hell.

Two major developments are conspicuous in these texts of 1533–34 that were not present when More wrote *Utopia*, and undoubtedly they shaped his approach in his last years towards the related issues of Christendom and crusading. The first is the heightening of the Turkish threat that had occurred in the course of the 1520s, a decade that started with the fall of Belgrade and ended with the first siege of Vienna. While the Hungarian rampart (*antemurale*) still stood, apparently firm, the Turks seemed distant, and it may have appeared safe to assume an ironic, even jocular, stance towards the various attempts that were made by the papal curia to summon the whole of Christendom to arms. Mohács was, as it were, a 'wake-up call' to which both Erasmus and More can be viewed responding by accepting the need for armed resistance. Owing to his deep-rooted pacifism, Erasmus's response was extraordinarily tentative: the remedy might well be worse than the disease. More, however, was much less hostile than his friend to the practice of war *per se*. This was true even before Mohács. It is striking that the Utopians believed in fighting wars 'to protect their own land, to drive invading armies from the territories of their friends, or to liberate an oppressed people, in the name of humanity, from tyranny and servitude'. They were even prepared to fight for their allies to avenge past injuries, though More's legal training is apparent in their finicky attention to establishing the culpability of their opponents before resorting to arms.<sup>21</sup> By the early 1530s, with Christendom's heartlands actively threatened by the Turks, there could be no doubting both the need and the justice of combating them.

The second major development was, of course, the Lutheran revolt. Many contemporaries were driven to reflect on the relationship between Luther and the

18 N. Housley, *Religious Warfare in Europe, 1400–1536* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 152–9.

19 Thomas More, 'A Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulation', ed. L.L. Martz and F. Manley, *CHSTM*, vol. 12 (New Haven, CT, 1976), Introduction, p. cxxv.

20 More, 'A Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulation', p. 7.

21 More, *Utopia*, pp. 87–8.

Turks, and in this respect the differences between Erasmus and More are striking. For Erasmus, confessional division occurred because of the *libido dominandi*, which subdued the Christian urge towards concord, and the prevalence of this savage and uncontrollable force would be aggravated if an attempt were made to engage the Turks through military means. For More, on the other hand, Lutheranism was akin to Zápolyai's treachery: it was 'internal turkishness'. This theme was more fully expounded in his earlier polemical works against the Lutherans, in which the equation of heresy with the Turkish threat was insistently reiterated. But it made its appearance too in *The Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulation*, particularly in the fine passage in which constant carping against the Church was described by Vincent as an erosion of its authority, paving the way for the apostasy to come:

For like as before a greate storm, the see begynneth to worke & rore in hym selfe ere euer the wynd waxeth boystuouse so my thinke I here at myn eare some of our owne here among vs, which with these few yeres could no more haue born the name of a Turke than the name of the devil, begyn now to fynd little faute therin ye and some to prayse them to, little & little as they may more glad to fynd fawtes at euery state of christendome, prestes, princes rites ceremonies sacraments laues and custumes spirituall temporall & all.<sup>22</sup>

Some might have said that by writing *Utopia*, More had contributed towards this process. Now, however, he was convinced that anybody who undermined the Church's position, including those like St German who were advising Cromwell and the king, was effectively on the side of the sultan. This was in part a reflection of the *Sonderweg* that the Reformation was assuming in England, but I believe that the difference of approach between Erasmus and More was rooted also in major dissimilarities of character and career path.

A key feature of More's personality, arguably the defining one, was his strongly developed sense of belonging to a Christian community, one held together by faith, but both based on and sustained by authority.<sup>23</sup> He compensated for the painful decision to reject his own religious vocation by adopting an approach towards secular life that was not just exceptionally pious, but also unusually regulated. It has been pointed out that *Utopia* resembles a giant monastery, and the daily routines that More imposed on his Chelsea household were quasi-monastic.<sup>24</sup> The Catholic Church with which he identified was emphatically historical; repeatedly in his anti-Lutheran polemics he referred to the sanction that history gave to Catholic belief, 'the hole consente and agrement of all crysten people this fysten hundred yere confermed'.<sup>25</sup> It has been observed that his respect for the views of the Church

22 More, 'A Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulation', p. 192.

23 Marius, *Thomas More*, pp. 515–18.

24 D. Fenlon, 'England and Europe: Utopia and its Aftermath', *TRHS* 5th ser. 25 (1975), pp. 115–35, at pp. 120–23. See also J. Guy, *Thomas More* (London, 2000), pp. 62–83.

25 Thomas More, 'A Dialogue concerning Heresies', ed. T.M.C. Lawler et al., *CWSTM*, vol. 6 (2 parts, New Haven, CT, 1981), p. 346, and cf. More's habit of listing the patristic authorities, for example *ibid.*, pp. 38, 90, 238, 406–7, 420.

Fathers bordered on the reverential.<sup>26</sup> And at his trial, he was famously prepared to reject even the laws of England when these clashed with what had been worked out over centuries at the Church's series of ecumenical councils.<sup>27</sup> From that point of view, he would probably have found congenial the chapter in *Salem and Byzance* in which his opponent, St German, celebrated England's crusading past.<sup>28</sup> The value that More invested in group identity expressed itself in relation to Christendom in two distinctive ways. The first was his loathing of heresy. For More, 'conscience' was inherently communal, not individual; it was the obstinacy of clinging to individual choice, rooted in the sin of pride, that More hated most in the Lutheran heretics. He was relentlessly harsh in his treatment of heretics while Chancellor, and attempts to play down his severity seem misguided: on this issue, there was simply too much at stake for mercy or compromise.<sup>29</sup> Heresy meant not just lost souls, but social upheavals like the Peasants' War in Germany.<sup>30</sup> It opened the floodgates to every kind of disorder. It may seem that More was exaggerating when he wrote in *The Debellation* that it was counter-productive to extend the faith through crusade abroad while attacking it at home by stripping the Church of its legal prerogatives. But that stance accorded with his overall view that the enemy within was more deadly than the enemy without. This was a strongly Augustinian perspective, and it is not surprising that More had lectured on *The City of God* at St Lawrence Jewry when he was training for the law.<sup>31</sup>

Allegiance to Christendom meant primarily upholding the tenets of faith that had been established by Church councils, together with the legal position of the Church as laid down by custom in each Catholic state; but there were also political implications. Christian princes needed to be at peace with each other in order that they could join forces and assist the Holy Roman Emperor in the common struggle against the Turks. More strongly upheld the traditional view that all wars between Christians were civil wars. In a conversation with William Roper in the late 1520s, More said that he would be content to die if three things could be assured. One was a peaceful settlement of the king's divorce issue, and the second unity in the Church. The third was an end to the wars that were tearing Christendom apart.<sup>32</sup> More knew better than most of his contemporaries how treacherous and shifting the shoals

26 R.C. Marius, 'Thomas More and the Early Church Fathers', *Traditio* 24 (1968), pp. 379–407.

27 P. Ackroyd, *The Life of Thomas More* (London, 1998), pp. 385–6, and see also p. 354 on the meaning of 'conscience' for More.

28 St German, 'Salem and Bizance', pp. 387–92, starting with the boast that 'Thoughe this realme of Englande be one of the ferthest christen realms fro the holye lande, yet I suppose, that it hathe done as moche for to haue recovered the holy lande ageyn into christen mens handes, as any realme christened hathe done, that haue ben more nerer to the holy lande then this is.'

29 Guy, *Thomas More*, pp. 106–25.

30 More, 'A Dialogue concerning Heresies', pp. 369, 406.

31 Ackroyd, *The Life*, pp. 101–2.

32 *Ibid.*, p. 264.

of European diplomacy were, but according to the imperial ambassador, Eustace Chapuys, he believed that when Charles V was carrying out his duty by defending Christendom against the Turks, he deserved the support of his fellow rulers.<sup>33</sup> He was ready to display a certain leniency towards the Emperor. So although he was horrified by the sack of Rome by the imperial troops in 1527, he avoided blaming Charles, and instead pinned the guilt on the *Landsknechte* who had carried out the atrocities. Since many (though by no means all) were Lutheran, this brought the added advantage of enabling More to compare their actions unfavourably with those of the Turks.<sup>34</sup> Whilst he was not a member of the 'Aragonese' party during the divorce controversy, such views naturally contributed towards his alignment with it, helping to make his position more difficult.<sup>35</sup>

More's strong views on the nature of Christendom and the imperative need to defend it accentuated the contrast between the positions that he and Erasmus assumed on the question of resisting the Turks. In *A Dialogue concerning Heresies*, which he wrote in 1529, More made clear how completely he rejected his friend's qualms when it came to fighting against the Turks. He vigorously defended the principle that princes had the duty not just to defend their own people, but also to offer charitable assistance to their imperilled Christian neighbours:

Bothe nature reason and goddys byheste byndeth fyrste the prynce to the sauegarde of hys peple with the parell of hym selfe as he taught Moyses to know hym selfe bounden to kyll the Egypcyans in the defence of Hebrewe and after he byndeth euery man to the helpe & defence of his good & harmles neyghbour agynst the malyce and cruelty of the wronge doer. For as the holy scripture saythe unicuique dedit deus curam de proximo suo god hath gyuen every man charge of his neyghbour to kepe hym frome harme of body and soule as moche as may lye in his power.<sup>36</sup>

If this was generally true, it applied 'most especyally' to warfare against the Turks, in which not just bodies and possessions, but 'mennys soules' were at stake. Indeed, a prince who did not take up arms in such circumstances placed himself in peril of 'eternall damnacyon'.<sup>37</sup>

More paid particular attention to the arguments attributed to the Lutherans that the Turks should not be resisted.<sup>38</sup> As scriptural proof, they cited John 18:10–11, in which Christ rebuked Peter for severing Malchus's right ear; whilst they argued too that history showed that the contraction of Christianity had started when force was used on its behalf instead of 'pacyence and martyrdome'. More had a field day with

33 *Calendar of State Papers, Spanish, I, pt 2, 1531–1533* (London, 1882), no. 683, pp. 113–14.

34 More, 'A Dialogue concerning Heresies', pp. 370–72.

35 Guy, *Thomas More*, pp. 146–65.

36 More, 'A Dialogue concerning Heresies', p. 415.

37 *Ibid.*

38 For Luther's position in 1529, see his 'On War against the Turk', trans. C.M. Jacob, revised R.C. Schultz, in *Luther's Works, Volume 46: The Christian in Society 3* (Philadelphia, PA, 1967), pp. 155–205; Housley, *Religious Warfare*, pp. 85–6.

these arguments. Christ's rebuke of Peter presented no problems given the apostle's priestly status and the circumstances of the arrest and the 'fruytfull passyon' that it precipitated.<sup>39</sup> He pointed to the irony of Lutherans preaching non-resistance to the Turks at the same time that they used violence against their fellow Christians: 'It is a gentyll holynes to abstayne for deuocyon frome resystynge the Turke and in the meane whyle to ryse vp in rowtys and fyght agaynste crysten men and destroy as that secte hath done many a good relygyous house spoyled meyhemed & slayne many a good vertuous man robbed polluted and pulled downe many a goodly chyrche of Cryste'.<sup>40</sup> But it was the claim that the Muslims owed their success to their opponents' use of force against them that brought out the best in More. This, he said, reminded him of the old yokel in Kent who was asked his opinion about why Sandwich harbour was silting up. He answered that it must be because of the steeple of Tenterden church: 'Why hath the stepell hurte the hauen good father quod they? Naye byr lady maysters quod he ych can not tell you well why but chote well it hath. For by god I knewe it a good hauen tyll that stepell was bylded. And by ye mary masse cha marked it well it neuer throue synce'.<sup>41</sup>

In reality, More continued, the exact opposite of the Lutheran argument was the case. The Turks had enjoyed their successes because Christian rulers were engaged in wars against each other, 'whereby whyle eche hathe aspyred to the enhaunsynge of his owne they haue lytell forced what came of the comen corps of crystendome'. God had therefore withdrawn his support for the Christian cause, and the Turks had prospered: 'For whan crysten prynces dydde theyr deuoyre against myscreautes and infydelis, there be storyes and monumentes ynougue that wytnesse the manyfest ayde and helpe of god in grete vycторyest gyuen to good crysten prynces by his almyghty hande'.<sup>42</sup> This is a highly significant passage. It places the responsibility for the success of the Turks not with the sinfulness of Christians in general, as both Luther and Erasmus did, but with the failings of their rulers. It adopts a celebratory approach towards past crusades that Erasmus would surely have found unacceptable, and it is couched in terms of a consolatory providential outlook that accords with that espoused by many crusading apologists in the past when faced with the dispiriting facts of Muslim success.<sup>43</sup> War against the Turks was necessary and just, but it would call for self-discipline on the part of rulers, who in exchange were entitled to expect the full support of their subjects. When the latter offered that support, moreover, they performed a charitable and laudable act. This became clear in More's *Confutation of Tyndale's Answer* (1533), in which he affirmed that: 'we take it as a token of loue to god yf a man haue a mynde for goddes sake to go fyghte agynst the Turkes. But as

39 More, 'A Dialogue concerning Heresies', p. 414.

40 Ibid., p. 412.

41 Ibid., pp. 412–13, 721 (on More's use of *cha* to achieve a 'Mummerset' effect). See Ackroyd, *The Life*, pp. 273–6, for the use of the vernacular in this text.

42 More, 'A Dialogue concerning Heresies', p. 413.

43 For example, P. Cole, 'Humbert of Romans and the Crusade', in *The Experience of Crusading, Volume 1: Western Approaches*, ed. M. Bull and N. Housley (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 157–74.

madly as he [sc. Tyndale] mokketh it a good token is it of loue to god for all that'.<sup>44</sup> For More, the idea that crusading could be an act of love still had meaning four centuries after it was first advanced.<sup>45</sup> In his approach towards both leadership and participation on a crusade, he looked to the past.

More was thus much more positive and consistent on the subject of war against the Turks than Erasmus would find it possible to be when he set out his views at length a year later in his *Utilissima consultatio*. More's upcoming exchange with St German would confirm that he regarded not just a war of defence, but also one of liberation, as inherently praiseworthy. Did he find anything objectionable in the mechanisms of crusade, notably the emphasis on indulgences being hawked on a large scale in exchange for financial contributions? On this it appears that More made no explicit comment, since he did not have cause to address the promotion and organization of the war in the detail that Erasmus did. But it is possible to suggest what his viewpoint might have been. In one passage in *The Debellation*, he praises St German for finding no fault in such practices as praying to the saints, pilgrimage, belief in purgatory and the sacraments, 'suche poynetes of the catholyke fayth as heretykes nowe labour to destroye'.<sup>46</sup> It is possible that More would have seen the preaching of a crusade as a chance, *inter alia*, to affirm the validity of a key feature of Catholic belief. So the preaching of crusade indulgences, which Erasmus saw as irredeemably corrupt, might well have been seen by More as another traditional practice that should be upheld in the face of attack. This would accord with his massive defence of traditional Catholic practices in *A Dialogue concerning Heresies*. Confronted with the threat of Lutheranism, More was prepared to be indulgent towards the failings of the contemporary clergy and the gullibility of the lay faithful. The key question for More was not whether the veneration of saints, and pilgrimage to the shrines where their relics were held, were practices that were being abused, but whether they could be beneficial; and his answer was a resounding yes.<sup>47</sup> As Richard Marius put it: 'Erasmus ends by attacking popular piety and More by defending it ... Erasmus tells [his] stories only to condemn; More tells them according to the ancient rhetorical principle of *concessio*, a concession that parries a blow and robs an attack of its force'.<sup>48</sup>

Once again, the difference between the Continental and English perspectives explains a good deal. Erasmus had witnessed the abuses of crusade preaching, whereas More probably had not.<sup>49</sup> He entertained a view of the crusading cause that was high-minded, abstract, some would have said naïve. More had also held high public office; he had been closely involved in the maintenance of an English

44 Thomas More, 'The Confutation of Tyndale's Answer', ed. L.A. Schuster et al., *CWSTM*, vol. 8 (3 parts, New Haven, CT, 1973), pp. 123–4.

45 J. Riley-Smith, 'Crusading as an Act of Love', *History* 65 (1980), pp. 177–92.

46 More, 'The Debellation', pp. 222–3.

47 More, 'A Dialogue concerning Heresies', p. 235.

48 Marius, *Thomas More*, p. 342 (quote), and see also 435–6.

49 Housley, 'A Necessary Evil?', pp. 266–7.

army in France, had negotiated taxes for the king with parliament, and could see things from the viewpoint of Christian rulers and their embattled treasurers. This cut both ways: we can assume that it would have strengthened his good will towards indulgences, on the grounds of the revenue that their preaching would bring in, but it would also have made him familiar with the deep undercurrent of anticlericalism in England. This included royal, parliamentary and popular discontent about the misuse to which the papal curia had in the past put money collected in England specifically for the benefit of crusading. This discontent loomed large in 1529–30, in the wake of the peace of Cambrai, when Henry VIII showed some sympathy towards the Habsburg cause in Austria and Hungary, but qualified it, *inter alia*, by reference to the unreliability of the papacy as crusading intermediary.<sup>50</sup> Since More was still Chancellor at this point, he would surely have known that no matter how strong his own feelings regarding the duties of Christian rulers to assist each other, and the efficacy of salvation through works, an English crusade was not likely to occur. It was a situation that the divorce controversy aggravated, but even if some settlement had been reached on the divorce, a crusade would have entailed an affirmation of papal authority that would have been viewed as intolerable. It has been noted that More was careful never to throw his authority behind the defence of the papacy's position within the Church, and may even have leaned towards conciliarism.<sup>51</sup>

Like many historical figures Thomas More is not an easy man to understand, but that is not the same thing as saying that he was radically inconsistent in his outlook.<sup>52</sup> More than anything else, *Utopia* depicts a community bound together by shared values that are passed on from generation to generation; so too was the Catholic world that More saw himself defending in the late 1520s and early 1530s. He wanted to save that world from the Turk without and the heretic within, and he saw force, organized and directed as God intended by the holders of public office, as the most appropriate and Christian way to do it. We have no proof that he valued the practice of crusading as part of that process, but neither should we assume that he rejected crusading simply because Erasmus did. It did not arise as a live topic for More as it did for Erasmus, either in the period of Leo X's project or as a response to the disasters of the 1520s. The two men shared a belief in the importance of 'the comen corps of Crystendome' and an anxiety about what was happening to it, and at times their anxiety reminds one strongly of the generation that had to come to terms with the loss of the Holy Land. But just as that generation could produce men with views as varied as, say, Pierre Dubois and Ramon Lull,<sup>53</sup> so the responses of Erasmus and More towards the Turks were fundamentally different. Erasmus's views

50 For example, *Calendar of State Papers, Spanish, IV pt 1, 1529–1530* (London, 1879), no. 224, pp. 337–53, no. 248, pp. 411–14.

51 R.C. Marius, 'Thomas More's View of the Church', in More, 'The Confutation of Tyndale's Answer', pp. 1,269–363, at pp. 1,294–315.

52 Guy, *Thomas More*, esp. p. 223: 'There is an historical Thomas More, but no one really knows where he can be found. He is an enigma. He defies objective analysis.'

53 For example, S. Schein, *Fideles Crucis: The Papacy, the West, and the Recovery of the Holy Land 1274–1314* (Oxford, 1991), *ad indicem*.

on how Christendom should be defended aligned him with the Lutherans,<sup>54</sup> whilst More's approach placed him in the company of contemporary Catholic apologists like Johann Haselberg, Georg Agricola and Matthias Kretz.<sup>55</sup>

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54 There are more similarities than differences between Erasmus's *Consultatio* and Luther's *On War against the Turk*.

55 J.W. Bohnstedt, 'The Infidel Scourge of God: The Turkish Menace as seen by German Pamphleteers of the Reformation Era', in *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* n.s. 58 (1968), pp. 1–58, at pp. 13–14, 41–6.

## PART II

# The Knights Templar



## Chapter 10

# Belchite, le Temple et Montjoie: la couronne d'Aragon et le Temple au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle

Alain Demurger

On admet généralement que les souverains de la péninsule ibérique ont souhaité utiliser pour les besoins de la *reconquista*, les ordres religieux-militaires de Terre sainte dès le début de l'existence (militaire) de ceux-ci. C'est le cas en particulier aux deux extrémités de la péninsule, le Portugal et la Catalogne, où les donations en faveur du Temple commencent dans les années 1129-30.

En Catalogne et en Aragon, l'année 1131 est particulièrement éloquente, non pas en terme de donations, mais en terme d'engagement des princes en faveur des ordres de Terre sainte: Raymond-Beranger III fait son testament le 8 juillet et il abandonne au Temple son cheval et ses armes;<sup>1</sup> le 14, il se donne lui-même au Temple.<sup>2</sup> Il meurt le 19, templier si l'on en croit son fils qui était présent.<sup>3</sup> Quant au roi d'Aragon et de Pampelune, Alphonse I<sup>er</sup> le Batailleur, il fait son testament en octobre et donne ses royaumes aux trois ordres de Terre sainte: les chanoines du Saint-Sépulcre, les hospitaliers de Saint-Jean, les chevaliers du Temple (seul ce dernier est militaire alors).<sup>4</sup>

L'intention des souverains d'impliquer l'ordre du Temple, qui vient d'être reconnu par l'Eglise au concile de Troyes de 1129, dans la lutte contre les infidèles en Espagne, est donc clairement affirmée; mais le Temple a-t-il la même intention? La mission de celui-ci, telle que son premier maître Hugues de Payns a pu la faire connaître tout au long de son périple en Occident en 1127-29, et telle que la règle

<sup>1</sup> Marquis d'Albon, éd., *Cartulaire général de l'ordre du Temple, 1119 ?-1150* (Paris, 1913), no. XXXVIII, p. 28 (ensuite Albon).

<sup>2</sup> Albon, no. XXXIII, p. 25; la date de 1130 donnée par d'Albon est corrigée en 1131 par les éditeurs récents du texte: J.-M. Sans i Travé, éd., *Collecció diplomatica de la casa del Temple de Barberà (945-1212)* (Barcelone, 1997), no. 26, pp. 101-2 (ensuite Barberà); L. Pagarolas, *La Comanda del Temple de Tortosa: primer període (1148-1213)* (Tortosa, 1984), p. 36.

<sup>3</sup> J.-M. Sans i Travé, *Els templers Catalans* (Barcelone, 1996), p. 76 (ensuite Templers).

<sup>4</sup> Albon, no. XL, pp. 30-31; J.A. Lema Pueyo, éd., *Collecció diplomatica de Alfonso I de Aragó y Pamplona: 1104-1134* (San Sebastián, 1990), no. 241, pp. 356-65 (ensuite Collecció).

validée à Troyes en janvier 1129 l'expose, est non moins claire: cette mission s'exerce en Orient, à Jérusalem et dans les Etats latins; il s'agit de protéger les pèlerins et de défendre les Etats. L'Espagne n'est ni plus ni moins qu'une zone de l'arrière, comme la France, l'Angleterre ou l'Italie. Les signes forts donnés par le comte de Barcelone et le roi d'Aragon (celui-ci confirme son testament peu avant sa mort en 1134) ont-ils entraîné une modification dans l'attitude du Temple? L'Espagne devient-elle alors pour lui zone de front?

Disons-le d'emblée et sans trop de précaution: non. Et c'est sans doute parce qu'il en a été ainsi que les souverains de ce qui devient la couronne d'Aragon après l'union réalisée en 1137 au profit de Raymond Berenguer IV, ont développé envers le Temple une politique beaucoup plus complexe qu'il n'y paraît: sans renoncer à le gagner à leurs projets, ils ont exploré d'autres voies, finalement assez proches de celles que les rois de Castille et Leon ont empruntées: des ordres militaires indépendants des ordres de Terre sainte, se consacrant uniquement (ou presque) à la *reconquista*. C'est cette politique des souverains aragonais que je me propose d'étudier à partir de quelques textes fondateurs: les statuts de la confrérie de Belchite (1122-36), l'acte de 1143 qui règle, avec le Temple, les problèmes nés de la non-exécution du testament d'Alphonse I<sup>er</sup>, la bulle d'Alexandre III qui fonde l'ordre de Montjoie en 1180.<sup>5</sup>

### Belchite

Pourquoi s'intéresser à cette confrérie, ou plus exactement aux confréries de chevaliers de la période alphon sine? Belchite est emblématique depuis le fameux article d'Elena Lourie consacrée à l'influence du ribât musulman; mais pour mon propos, il faudra y joindre les enseignements que l'on peut tirer de la confrérie de Monreal del Campo.<sup>6</sup> Toutes deux furent créées alors que l'ordre du Temple n'était pas encore reconnu, et peut-être même, pour Belchite, pas encore connu du tout en Aragon.<sup>7</sup>

Belchite, fondée en 1122, a attiré l'attention des historiens: pour les uns, c'est un chaînon; pour d'autres c'est un berceau.

Belchite serait le chaînon ayant permis au christianisme de s'approprier et d'intégrer à sa tradition monastique bénédictine le modèle musulman du ribât, par nature étranger et irréductible au christianisme. Vieille question renouvelée il y a trente ans par Elena Lourie et Milagros Rivera Garreta à partir des données de

5 P. Rassow, 'La cofradia de Belchite', *Anuario de Historia del derecho español* 3 (1926), pp. 220-26; Albon, no. CCCXIV, pp. 204-5, et Sans i Travé, Barberà, no. 35, pp. 110-14; J. Delaville Le Roulx, 'L'ordre de Montjoie', *Revue de l'Orient latin* 1 (1893), p. 50.

6 Albon, no. VI, pp. 3-4.

7 A. Ubieto Arteta, 'La creacion de la cofradia militar de Belchite', *Estudios de Edad Media de la Corona de Aragon* 5 (1952), pp. 427-34.

l'anthropologie historique.<sup>8</sup> Leur interprétation est critiquable – et a été critiquée – mais les historiens des ordres militaires auraient tort d'en négliger les apports. Toutefois, ce n'est pas ce problème qui est en cause dans mon propos d'aujourd'hui.

D'autres ont placé dans une autre chaîne le chaînon Belchite. Pour P. Rassow, l'éditeur du texte de ses statuts, Belchite ferait le lien entre les ordres militaires de Terre sainte et les ordres 'nationaux' ibériques.<sup>9</sup>

Enfin, plus récemment, José Angel Lema Pueyo a fait des confréries aragonaises l'un des modèles possibles de l'ordre religieux-militaire, donc du Temple. De chaînon, elles deviennent berceau! Agustín Ubieto Arteta, auteur d'une étude sur Belchite dès 1952, et d'une *Histoire de l'Aragon* parue en 1981, intitule le paragraphe qu'il consacre à *Monreal del Campo*: *la Orden militar de Monreal del Campo (1124)*.<sup>10</sup> Analytant le texte de 1124, il en prend à son aise avec le texte latin pour introduire l'expression 'ordre militaire' là où elle ne figure pas. Eliminé le ribât! Après la croisade, c'est le concept d'ordre religieux-militaire qui trouverait son origine en Espagne; au moins nous restons dans le monde chrétien!

Comme A. Ubieto, J.A. Lema Pueyo appuie son raisonnement non pas sur Belchite, mais sur *Monreal del Campo*, fondée deux ans plus tard, en 1124. Pour celle-ci en effet, il y a une référence explicite à Jérusalem, voire au Temple. Citons le texte:

Ce roi Alphonse, très fort et glorieux roi d'Aragon [...] par l'inspiration et l'aide du saint Esprit et par le conseil et l'aide du vicomte Gaston [de Béarn] et d'autres prud'hommes [...] fit ordonner et constituer, de la même façon qu'à Jérusalem, une chevalerie du Christ, par laquelle, sous la conduite du roi, tous les Sarrasins de ce côté de la mer étant combattus et soumis, il pourrait ouvrir la route maritime vers Jérusalem.

Un peu plus loin le texte parle de 'la chevalerie de la confrérie de Jérusalem'.<sup>11</sup>

J.A. Lema Pueyo définit cette confrérie comme 'une institution semblable au Temple bien que d'origine aragonaise'.<sup>12</sup> Lecteur plus attentif qu'A. Ubieto Arteta, il fait remarquer que la chevalerie de Jérusalem à laquelle le texte fait allusion, est

8 E. Lourie, 'The Confraternity of Belchite, the Ribat and the Temple', *Viator* 13 (1982), pp. 159–78; M. Rivera Garreta, 'El origen de la idea de orden militar en la historiografía reciente', *Acta historica et archaeologica mediaevalia* 1 (1990), pp. 77–90.

9 Rassow, 'Belchite', pp. 219–20, cité par A. Ubieto Arteta, 'La creacion', p. 427.

10 A. Ubieto Arteta. *Historia de Aragon. I. La formacion territorial* (Saragosse, 1981), p. 168.

11 Lema Pueyo, *Collecció*, no. 141, pp. 206–8: 'Ecce Adefonsus strenuus et gloriosus rex aragonensis [...] inspirante et cooperante Spiritus sancte gratia, consilio et auxilio vicecomitis Gastonis ceterumque bonorum principum [...], quemadmodum est Ierosolimis, ordinare et constituere militiam christi, per quam, rege duce, debellatis et superatis omnibus de circa mare sarracenis, iter aperire ad transfretandum Ierosolimam Cristo previo dispositu [...] quemadmodum milicia confraternitatis Iherosolimitana ...'.

12 J.A. Lema Pueyo, 'Las cofradías y la introducción del Temple en los reinos de Aragón y Pamplona. Guerra, interese, y piedad religiosa', *Anuario de Estudios medievales* 28 (1998), p. 313.

définie comme confrérie. Pour lui, le Temple ne devient un ordre qu'à partir de sa reconnaissance par l'Eglise à Troyes en 1129. Jusque là il n'était qu'une confrérie de chevaliers.

Deux objections peuvent être faites. Précisons que la chronologie (le Temple, 1120, Belchite, 1122, Monreal, 1124), n'a pas d'importance ici. Qu'en deux lieux éloignés, des problèmes semblables aboutissent à des créations semblables, n'a rien de surprenant, d'autant plus que le modèle de ces 'chevaleries' existait déjà en Occident avant les expériences de Terre sainte et d'Espagne: les *milites sancti Petri* de Grégoire VII par exemple.

La première objection ne tient donc pas à cette chronologie là mais à celle des textes qui nous font connaître ces confréries aragonaises. Nous ne disposons pas des actes de fondation; nous n'avons pas les statuts primitifs de ces deux chevaleries (si statuts il y a eu d'ailleurs). Nous connaissons Belchite par la confirmation-recréation de la confrérie par Alphonse VII de Castille et Leon; elle date du 4 octobre 1136 et je préciserai le contexte de cette intervention du roi de Castille. Quant à Monreal del Campo, le texte de base, publié déjà par le marquis d'Albon, est une charte des évêques d'Aragon souscrite également par l'archevêque d'Auch, approuvant des priviléges nouveaux accordés à la confrérie fondée par Alphonse I<sup>er</sup> d'Aragon. Ce texte, non daté, pourrait avoir été écrit en 1126-1128, avant le concile de Troyes (du 13 janvier 1129) qui donne au Temple sa règle et valide son expérience. Ces textes reflètent donc la situation de 1126-28 et de 1136. Mais qu'en était-il, en 1122 et en 1124? Quelle connaissance avait-on alors, en Aragon, des premiers pas du Temple à Jérusalem? Nos textes ne sont-ils pas des constructions *a posteriori*?

Deuxième objection: faire du premier Temple (je parle de l'ordre dans la période 1120-29) une simple confrérie n'est pas recevable. Bien sûr, les premiers templiers, les proto-templiers appartenaient probablement au milieu 'confraternel' des *milites sancti Sepulcri* dont l'existence a été mise en évidence par Kaspar Elm et Anthony Luttrell.<sup>13</sup> Mais les chevaliers qui, conduits par Hugues de Payns et Godesfrey de Saint-Omer, ont pris l'initiative de s'affranchir de la tutelle des chanoines du Saint-Sépulcre en 1120, manifestaient une volonté de rupture avec ce modèle confraternel. Ils voulaient créer quelque chose d'entièrement nouveau comme il ressort des textes de Guillaume de Tyr et surtout d'Ermoul: les premiers templiers ne voulaient plus dépendre des chanoines; ils ne voulaient plus appartenir à une sorte de tiers ordre laïc dépendant d'un ordre canonial. Ils voulaient se donner un maître et suivre leur voie propre.<sup>14</sup>

L'examen du contenu, non pas des statuts hélas, mais des textes dont je viens de parler, pour Belchite et Monreal, va me semble-t-il, dans ce sens.

13 A. Luttrell, 'The Earliest Templars', dans *Autour de la première croisade*, éd. M. Balard (Paris, 1996), pp. 193-202; K. Elm, 'Kanoniker und Ritter vom Heiligen Grab', dans *Die geistlichen Ritterorden Europas*, éd. J. Fleckenstein et M. Hellmann (Sigmaringen, 1980), p. 167.

14 L. de Mas Latrie, éd., *Chronique d'Ermoul et de Bernard le Trésorier* (Paris, 1871), pp. 7-9.

Pour Belchite, le texte publié par P. Rassow est un acte double qui confirme et rénove l'institution d'Alphonse le Batailleur. Les auteurs de ces deux actes parallèles sont Alphonse VII de Castille et le synode des évêques réunis par lui à Burgos. L'acte d'Alphonse VII est défini par P. Rassow comme un privilège; quant au document synodal, il confirme des indulgences accordées oralement précédemment.

Pourquoi cette intervention d'Alphonse VII, empereur, roi de Castille et de Leon et de sa femme, l'impératrice Bérengère? Alphonse VII dans la souscription de l'acte, donne la titulature suivante: empereur de Tolède, de Saragosse, de Navarre, de Castille, de Leon et de Galice. Il n'est pas question de l'Aragon. Il faut placer cet acte dans le contexte de la succession du roi d'Aragon Alphonse I<sup>er</sup>, à la suite de son testament de 1131, confirmé en 1134. Il léguait ses royaumes d'Aragon et de Pampelune aux trois ordres de Terre sainte, le Saint-Sépulcre (chanoines réguliers), l'Hôpital et le Temple. On sait que la noblesse aragonaise, réunie à Jaca rejeta ce testament. On fit appel au frère d'Alphonse, Ramir, qui était moine. Sorti du couvent et proclamé roi, il se marie en 1135; il a une fille l'année suivante 1136; elle épouse, à un an, en 1137, le comte de Barcelone Raymond Beranger IV. Ramir, soulagé, peut abdiquer et retourner dans son couvent. Le roi de Castille était candidat à la succession d'Alphonse I<sup>er</sup>; il savait pouvoir compter sur l'appui pontifical (depuis 1068, le royaume d'Aragon était sous la protection du pape), mais la noblesse d'Aragon ne l'a pas voulu. Alphonse VII ne s'avoue pas vaincu; en 1136 rien n'est encore joué. Il réussit à prendre le contrôle de la Navarre (Les Navarrais ont en effet profité de l'occasion pour quitter le giron aragonais). Il profite aussi du statut encore imprécis du royaume de Saragosse, pas encore intégré à l'Aragon, pour s'y implanter, ce dont témoigne l'acte du 4 octobre 1136 dont l'un des objectifs est, rénovant la confrérie de Belchite, d'amadouer une noblesse hostile. Les confréries, Belchite et Montréal sont curieusement absentes du testament d'Alphonse I<sup>er</sup>.<sup>15</sup> Il s'agit donc, en 1136, de réactiver une confrérie tombée en sommeil; on ne peut donc inférer de ce texte le contenu exact de celui de 1122.

Toutefois les actes de 1136, même déformés par rapport à 1122, permettent de discerner les intentions d'Alphonse I<sup>er</sup>.

L'acte royal évoque une *milicia Christi* active en Espagne et qui devra être le rempart de Saragosse; les chevaliers auront pour tâche de repousser la frontière au sud de l'Ebre et devront lutter en permanence et leur vie durant contre les Sarrasins.<sup>16</sup> Le roi accorde aux frères des priviléges: ils n'auront pas à répondre aux convocations du roi au titre du service féodal (ils ne combattront pas d'autres chrétiens); ils garderont leurs conquêtes et seront exemptés de la *quinta*, la part de tout butin (le cinquième) qui doit revenir au roi; ils auront la seigneurie des villes et territoires conquis. Le roi invite enfin les sujets à se montrer généreux envers la confrérie.

15 M.L. Ledesma Rubio, *Templarios y Hospitalarios en el Reino de Aragón* (Saragosse, 1982), pp. 33-4.

16 Contrairement à la lecture qu'en a faite E. Lourie, c'est l'aspect d'engagement perpétuel qui est le premier évoqué et qui est la règle.

Le texte des évêques évoque la ‘défense des chrétiens, l’oppression des Sarrasins et les libertés de la Sainte Eglise’. Clercs ou laïcs, les confrères qui s’engagent à combattre jusqu’à la fin de leurs jours seront absous de leurs péchés comme s’ils avaient embrassé la vie du moine ou de l’ermite. Mais ceux qui servent à temps obtiennent également la rémission de leurs péchés et la remise de leur pénitence selon un tarif établi en fonction de la durée de leur engagement. Le service d’un an vaut une rémission comme si l’on était allé à Jérusalem; le service d’un mois remplace la pénitence du jeûne hebdomadaire infligée pour un an; si quelqu’un envoie une autre personne pour effectuer le service à sa place, il garde ses indulgences; celui qui convertit son voeu de pèlerinage en service dans la confrérie jouira d’une rémunération double de ce qu’il méritait en fonction du nombre de jours de service.

Enfin si, vivant ou mourant, un confrère veut donner son cheval et ses armes, il bénéficiera de la même rémission que s’il les avait donné au Temple ou à l’Hôpital. Jérusalem n’est donc évoquée que comme but de croisade ou de pèlerinage; le Temple et l’Hôpital qu’à l’occasion du legs des armes et du cheval.

Passons maintenant à Monreal del Campo. Les évêques rappellent que l’objectif fixé par le roi est de combattre et soumettre les Sarrasins d’Espagne de façon à ouvrir la voie aux pèlerins allant à Jérusalem, d’édifier Monreal, siège de la confrérie et, en filigrane, de peupler et mettre en valeur les zones désertes de Daroca à Valence. Le roi avait concédé des priviléges: donations royales sur la part des revenus tirés des villes et autres lieux; la moitié de toutes les *quinta* dans toute l’Espagne; les confrères seront libres de toute servitude et en particulier du paiement de la *quinta* ‘de la même façon que la chevalerie de la confraternité de Jérusalem’. Les évêques et les clercs s’engagent à célébrer des messes pour les confrères défunt et les bienfaiteurs de la confrérie; la rémission des péchés et la remise des pénitences leur sont accordées de la même façon qu’à Jérusalem; l’archevêque d’Auch se fait confrère et confirme la rémission et l’absolution accordée; enfin, quiconque donnera un denier chaque mois, bénéficiera de quarante jours d’absolution de sa pénitence.

Dans les deux cas, la référence à Jérusalem est anecdotique ou superficielle et elle n’implique pas une assimilation des confréries aragonaises aux institutions hiérosolomytaines; c’est une référence ou un degré (le plus élevé) dans une échelle de références. Dans le texte royal concernant Belchite, l’engagement privilégié est l’engagement perpétuel; il est comparé à celui du moine ou de l’ermite, pas à celui du templier. Pour le reste, il n’est question que d’engagement temporaire et de dons; cela vaut à son auteur une rémission plus ou moins longue de ses péchés et la levée des sanctions infligées. Nous sommes dans le régime bien connu, et pas nouveau, de la pénitence tarifée. Les membres de ces confréries ne prononcent pas de vœux; ils peuvent servir à temps et obtenir des indulgences. Ces confrères sont du côté des pèlerins et des croisés.

Cela n’a rien à voir avec l’engagement des templiers. Les premiers templiers en effet s’affirment comme des religieux qui veulent obéir à un maître, prononcer des vœux monastiques perpétuels et suivre une règle; il n’est pas question pour eux d’indulgences, de récompenses spirituelles tarifées. Ils sont du côté des moines de la tradition bénédictine occidentale.

L'Espagne n'est donc pas plus le berceau de l'ordre militaire qu'elle n'est le berceau de la croisade.

Je l'ai dit, le testament d'Alphonse le batailleur ignore Belchite et Monreal. Nous sommes en 1131; à cette date, l'expérience de l'ordre religieux du Temple en Orient est connue. Hugues de Payns et ses compagnons ont visité l'Occident (1127-29) et les donations se multiplient. Tout se passe comme si Alphonse I<sup>er</sup> avait jugé plus profitable et efficace d'implanter dans ses Etats un outil déjà prêt à servir plutôt que de multiplier des confréries trop localisées et trop fragiles. N'était-ce pas aussi le moyen de ramener vers la reconquête ceux qui, aussi nombreux en Espagne qu'ailleurs, étaient enclin à partir pour Jérusalem? Si la 'chevalerie de Jérusalem', le Temple maintenant, s'implantait et combattait en Espagne, l'égalité des engagements Jérusalem/Espagne, serait proclamée clairement. Il ne serait alors plus nécessaire de tout justifier en disant 'comme à Jérusalem'.<sup>17</sup>

Venons-en donc, non pas au testament d'Alphonse I<sup>er</sup>, qui pose tant de questions,<sup>18</sup> mais au document de 1143, c'est-à-dire à l'acte qui règle, avec le Temple, les problèmes nés de la non application de ce testament.

### L'acte de 1143

Le testament d'Alphonse I<sup>er</sup> en faveur des trois ordres de Terre sainte n'ayant pas été appliqué, il a fallu dédommager les bénéficiaires lésés. Je doute que les ordres aient été enthousiastes à l'idée de devoir gérer le royaume d'Aragon! Et ensemble, qui plus est! Mais sait-on jamais, le pouvoir faisant commettre aux hommes un nombre incalculable de bêtises! C'est à Raymond-Béranger IV qu'a incombe le soin de liquider la question. Cela fut fait en deux temps: en 1140 avec l'Hôpital et les chanoines du Saint-Sépulcre, en 1143 avec le Temple.<sup>19</sup>

L'accord avec les deux premiers ordres fut ménagé par le patriarche de Jérusalem qui envoya le maître de l'Hôpital Raymond du Puy régler le problème. Un accord fut conclu avec Raymond-Béranger IV le 16 septembre. Le texte est habile. Le testament demeurait valable; simplement l'Hôpital et le Saint-Sépulcre, considérant que le comte de Barcelone et prince d'Aragon 'était le plus utile et nécessaire pour

17 Le fait d'affirmer sans cesse que ce que l'on fait en Espagne ou ailleurs (mais hors de Terre sainte) est fait 'comme si on était à Jérusalem' est à mes yeux la preuve évidente que justement, cela n'est pas comme à Jérusalem.

18 L'on retrouve à ce sujet aussi, un article iconoclaste d'Elena Lourie et une belle polémique avec Alan Forey; E. Lourie, 'The Will of Alfonso I, "el Batallador", King of Aragon and Navarre: A Reassessment', *Speculum* 50 (1975), pp. 636-51; A. Forey a exprimé son désaccord: 'The Will of Alfonso I of Aragon and Navarre', *Durham University Journal* (1980), pp. 59-65. Voir aussi F. de Moxo y Montoliu, 'Los templarios en la Corona de Aragón', *Aragon en la Edad Media* 10-11 (1993), pp. 662-3, qui par d'autres voies, parvient aux mêmes conclusions qu'E. Lourie; J.A. Lema Pueyo ne soutient guère cette position.

19 Sans i Travé, *Templers*, pp. 87-95; et Pagarolas, *Tortosa*, pp. 39-43.

pourvoir à l'administration et à la défense du pays', lui confiaient leurs parts (soit les deux tiers du royaume) à gérer.

Le cas du Temple fut plus long à régler. Non pas parce que le Temple était plus dur en affaire (nous ne sommes qu'en 1140, pas en 1307!) mais parce qu'il était un ordre militaire et que le comte souhaitait son concours à la défense et à l'expansion de ses Etats. Il y eut entre le comte et le Temple des échanges d'ambassadeurs et de lettres. On connaît une de ces lettres; Raymond-Béranger IV, 'prince d'Aragon et successeur d'Alphonse I<sup>er</sup>' écrit à Robert de Craon, maître du Temple, pour l'assurer qu'il veut servir de toutes ses forces la chevalerie (le Temple donc) pour accroître son honneur et sa gloire (à la chevalerie!). Mais il faut tenir compte des réalités de l'Eglise d'Occident (d'Espagne) et il demande au maître d'envoyer en Aragon dix chevaliers pour accueillir et encadrer ceux qui, dans la principauté, voudrait se joindre à la dite chevalerie. Il demande une réponse rapide dans l'intérêt de l'Eglise de Dieu. Il promet en outre, d'entretenir ces chevaliers et pour cela leur cède des revenus royaux à Daroca, l'honneur de Lope Sánchez de Belchite (c'est le recteur placé à la tête de la confrérie de Belchite par le roi de Castille en 1136), avec le château, etc.<sup>20</sup>

Tout cela précède l'accord conclu le 27 novembre 1143 à Girona.<sup>21</sup> Ce texte ne fait aucune allusion au testament; il ne fait pas mention d'une renonciation du Temple à sa part d'héritage. Or il y a une référence à un tel texte dans la bulle d'Hadrien IV en 1158. Le texte du 'prince' ('regni dominator aragonensis') se présente comme une concession, une libéralité, et non comme un échange. L'appel au Temple est justifié par la défense de l'Eglise d'Occident. S'ensuit deux types de donations: des châteaux (Monzon, Montgay, Chalamera, Remolins, Corbins, Belchite) et les priviléges habituels: part de revenus, exemption de la *quinta*, etc. Le texte est souscrit par les évêques et abbés, des nobles, des représentants du Temple: Evrard des Barres, maître de France, Pierre de la Rovère, maître de Provence-Espagne, le légat du pape. La papauté toutefois ne reconnaîtra officiellement cela qu'un an après; et en fait très progressivement (1150, Eugène III). Raymond-Beranger n'a pas attendu pour porter le titre royal. Qu'Hadrien IV ne lui reconnaît que le 24 juin 1158.

Les historiens s'accordent à dire que, de ce moment là (1143), le Temple s'est clairement engagé en péninsule ibérique: l'ordre aurait changé d'attitude et considèrerait désormais l'Espagne comme un champ d'action militaire au même titre que l'Orient; il y poursuivrait les mêmes fins.<sup>22</sup> Et de fait, dans les années qui suivent, on trouve une remarquable convergence chronologique dans l'action du Temple de l'est à l'ouest de la péninsule.

En 1147, Raymond Berenguer IV commence les grandes manœuvres qui vont lui permettre de conquérir la basse vallée de l'Ebre. Les circonstances et les opportunités offertes par le passage en Méditerranée occidentale de croisés de la deuxième croisade se rendant en Orient, ont amené le comte à reprendre un projet

20 Sans i Travé, *Templiers*, pp. 89-90.

21 Albon, no. CCCXIV, pp. 204-5; Sans i Travé, *Barberà*, no. 35, pp. 110-14.

22 A. Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragon* (Oxford, 1973), p. 23.

essentiel et déjà envisagé dans les années précédentes: la prise de Tortosa. Les sources, et notamment les 'Annales génoises' de Caffaro, montrent bien que le siège de Tortosa de 1148, s'inscrit dans une entreprise plus vaste qui associe au comte et à sa noblesse, le roi de Castille, les Génois (qui participent à la prise d'Almeria en 1147), des croisés du nord de l'Europe (Anglais, Flamands, Scandinaves) en route pour la Terre sainte et qui, au passage, ont prêté main-forte aux Portugais pour s'emparer de Lisbonne (1147), et des chevaliers du Languedoc et de Provence. Les 'Annales génoises' mentionnent aussi la présence de templiers: 'Et aussi des Anglais, avec des chevaliers du Temple et avec d'autres chevaliers étrangers nombreux ...'.<sup>23</sup> Présence des templiers qu'attestent aussi deux autres documents.<sup>24</sup>

Les templiers n'ont pas du être très nombreux au siège de Tortose. Peu importe: c'est en vertu de l'acte de 1143, et non pas de leur engagement réel sur le terrain, que les templiers se sont vus remettre le cinquième de la part revenant au comte (représentant elle-même, le tiers) à la suite de la conquête de la ville. L'engagement des templiers se poursuit dans les années suivantes à Lerida, Fraga (prises en 1149) et à Miravet, assiégée et prise dès 1152.

Cet investissement templier se manifeste alors dans tous les royaumes ibériques. Au Portugal, les templiers sont signalés pour la première fois dans des combats à Soure (en 1144) et à Santarem (en 1147). Cette même année 1147, le roi de Castille s'empare de la forteresse musulmane de Kalaat Rawa; à cette date, ou dans les années qui suivent, il en confie la garde aux templiers.

Le sens de l'engagement templier dans la *reconquista* apparaît ainsi clairement. C'est moins l'apport de chevaliers nombreux pour renforcer leur armée qui intéresse les princes, que l'installation de garnisons dans des châteaux ou villes fortes pour surveiller une frontière et organiser le peuplement des régions récemment conquises et souvent dévastées. A Miravet l'acte du 24 août 1153 cède aux templiers le château et le district. Parlant des templiers de Miravet, L. Pagarolas écrit qu'ils 'contribuèrent ainsi énormément à l'œuvre de repeuplement'.<sup>25</sup> Là encore la comparaison de la situation sur la basse Ebre avec celle du Portugal est éclairante: c'est dans la décennie 1150-1160 que Gualdem Pais, le maître, portugais, de la province, entreprend l'édification du bourg de Tomar, près du château de Cera, sur un territoire fraîchement reconquis et cédé par le roi. Tomar deviendra le quartier général de l'ordre dans la province. La forteresse est aussi un couvent où l'ordre religieux-militaire peut mener de front vie spirituelle et engagement militaire, celui-ci étant conçu d'abord comme engagement défensif: défendre les pèlerins, défendre la frontière, 'défendre la terre' comme le faisait dire aux tout premiers templiers, le chroniqueur Ermoult. Si l'on accepte la démonstration faite par Enrique Rodriguez-Picavea Matilla pour la Castille, où il a étudié le cas de l'Hôpital et de Calatrava sur la frontière andalouse, on peut admettre que les monarchies ibériques ont instrumentalisé les ordres militaires pour réaliser

23 L.T. Belgrano, éd., *Annali genovesi di Caffaro e di suoi continuatori dal MXCIX al MCCXCIII*, t. I (Gênes, 1896), p. 86.

24 Albon, no. DLIII, pp. 339-40, et no. DLXIV, pp. 349-50.

25 Pagarolas, *Tortosa*, p. 68.

pourvoir à l'administration et à la défense du pays', lui confiaient leurs parts (soit les deux tiers du royaume) à gérer.

Le cas du Temple fut plus long à régler. Non pas parce que le Temple était plus dur en affaire (nous ne sommes qu'en 1140, pas en 1307!) mais parce qu'il était un ordre militaire et que le comte souhaitait son concours à la défense et à l'expansion de ses Etats. Il y eut entre le comte et le Temple des échanges d'ambassadeurs et de lettres. On connaît une de ces lettres; Raymond-Béranger IV, 'prince d'Aragon et successeur d'Alphonse I<sup>er</sup>' écrit à Robert de Craon, maître du Temple, pour l'assurer qu'il veut servir de toutes ses forces la chevalerie (le Temple donc) pour accroître son honneur et sa gloire (à la chevalerie!). Mais il faut tenir compte des réalités de l'Eglise d'Occident (d'Espagne) et il demande au maître d'envoyer en Aragon dix chevaliers pour accueillir et encadrer ceux qui, dans la principauté, voudrait se joindre à la dite chevalerie. Il demande une réponse rapide dans l'intérêt de l'Eglise de Dieu. Il promet en outre, d'entretenir ces chevaliers et pour cela leur cède des revenus royaux à Daroca, l'honneur de Lope Sánchez de Belchite (c'est le recteur placé à la tête de la confrérie de Belchite par le roi de Castille en 1136), avec le château, etc.<sup>20</sup>

Tout cela précède l'accord conclu le 27 novembre 1143 à Girona.<sup>21</sup> Ce texte ne fait aucune allusion au testament; il ne fait pas mention d'une renonciation du Temple à sa part d'héritage. Or il y a une référence à un tel texte dans la bulle d'Hadrien IV en 1158. Le texte du 'prince' ('regni dominator aragonensis') se présente comme une concession, une libéralité, et non comme un échange. L'appel au Temple est justifié par la défense de l'Eglise d'Occident. S'ensuit deux types de donations: des châteaux (Monzon, Montgay, Chalamera, Remolins, Corbins, Belchite) et les priviléges habituels: part de revenus, exemption de la *quinta*, etc. Le texte est souscrit par les évêques et abbés, des nobles, des représentants du Temple: Evrard des Barres, maître de France, Pierre de la Rovère, maître de Provence-Espagne, le légat du pape. La papauté toutefois ne reconnaîtra officiellement cela qu'un an après; et en fait très progressivement (1150, Eugène III). Raymond-Beranger n'a pas attendu pour porter le titre royal. Qu'Hadrien IV ne lui reconnaît que le 24 juin 1158.

Les historiens s'accordent à dire que, de ce moment là (1143), le Temple s'est clairement engagé en péninsule ibérique: l'ordre aurait changé d'attitude et considérerait désormais l'Espagne comme un champ d'action militaire au même titre que l'Orient; il y poursuivrait les mêmes fins.<sup>22</sup> Et de fait, dans les années qui suivent, on trouve une remarquable convergence chronologique dans l'action du Temple de l'est à l'ouest de la péninsule.

En 1147, Raymond Berenguer IV commence les grandes manœuvres qui vont lui permettre de conquérir la basse vallée de l'Ebre. Les circonstances et les opportunités offertes par le passage en Méditerranée occidentale de croisés de la deuxième croisade se rendant en Orient, ont amené le comte à reprendre un projet

20 Sans i Travé, *Templars*, pp. 89-90.

21 Albon, no. CCCXIV, pp. 204-5; Sans i Travé, *Barberà*, no. 35, pp. 110-14.

22 A. Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragon* (Oxford, 1973), p. 23.

essentiel et déjà envisagé dans les années précédentes: la prise de Tortosa. Les sources, et notamment les 'Annales génoises' de Caffaro, montrent bien que le siège de Tortosa de 1148, s'inscrit dans une entreprise plus vaste qui associe au comte et à sa noblesse, le roi de Castille, les Génois (qui participent à la prise d'Almeria en 1147), des croisés du nord de l'Europe (Anglais, Flamands, Scandinaves) en route pour la Terre sainte et qui, au passage, ont prêté main-forte aux Portugais pour s'emparer de Lisbonne (1147), et des chevaliers du Languedoc et de Provence. Les 'Annales génoises' mentionnent aussi la présence de templiers: 'Et aussi des Anglais, avec des chevaliers du Temple et avec d'autres chevaliers étrangers nombreux ...'.<sup>23</sup> Présence des templiers qu'attestent aussi deux autres documents.<sup>24</sup>

Les templiers n'ont pas du être très nombreux au siège de Tortose. Peu importe: c'est en vertu de l'acte de 1143, et non pas de leur engagement réel sur le terrain, que les templiers se sont vus remettre le cinquième de la part revenant au comte (représentant elle-même, le tiers) à la suite de la conquête de la ville. L'engagement des templiers se poursuit dans les années suivantes à Lerida, Fraga (prises en 1149) et à Miravet, assiégée et prise dès 1152.

Cet investissement templier se manifeste alors dans tous les royaumes ibériques. Au Portugal, les templiers sont signalés pour la première fois dans des combats à Soure (en 1144) et à Santarem (en 1147). Cette même année 1147, le roi de Castille s'empare de la forteresse musulmane de Kalaat Rawa; à cette date, ou dans les années qui suivent, il en confie la garde aux templiers.

Le sens de l'engagement templier dans la *reconquista* apparaît ainsi clairement. C'est moins l'apport de chevaliers nombreux pour renforcer leur armée qui intéresse les princes, que l'installation de garnisons dans des châteaux ou villes fortes pour surveiller une frontière et organiser le peuplement des régions récemment conquises et souvent dévastées. À Miravet l'acte du 24 août 1153 cède aux templiers le château et le district. Parlant des templiers de Miravet, L. Pagarolas écrit qu'ils 'contribuèrent ainsi énormément à l'œuvre de repeuplement'.<sup>25</sup> Là encore la comparaison de la situation sur la basse Ebre avec celle du Portugal est éclairante: c'est dans la décennie 1150-1160 que Gualdem Pais, le maître, portugais, de la province, entreprend l'édification du bourg de Tomar, près du château de Cera, sur un territoire fraîchement reconquis et cédé par le roi. Tomar deviendra le quartier général de l'ordre dans la province. La forteresse est aussi un couvent où l'ordre religieux-militaire peut mener de front vie spirituelle et engagement militaire, celui-ci étant conçu d'abord comme engagement défensif: défendre les pèlerins, défendre la frontière, 'défendre la terre' comme le faisait dire aux tout premiers templiers, le chroniqueur Ermoul. Si l'on accepte la démonstration faite par Enrique Rodriguez-Picavea Matilla pour la Castille, où il a étudié le cas de l'Hôpital et de Calatrava sur la frontière andalouse, on peut admettre que les monarchies ibériques ont instrumentalisé les ordres militaires pour réaliser

23 L.T. Belgrano, éd., *Annali genovesi di Caffaro e di suoi continuatori dal MNCIX al MCCXCI*, t. I (Gênes, 1896), p. 86.

24 Albon, no. DLIII, pp. 339-40, et no. DLXIV, pp. 349-50.

25 Pagarolas, *Tortosa*, p. 68.

leur politique de contrôle du territoire reconquis.<sup>26</sup> Instrumentaliser, ou du moins tenter de le faire.

On connaît le cas de la Castille où les templiers ont fini par renoncer à Calatrava, ce qui amènera le roi Sanche III à créer un ordre proprement castillan, l'ordre de Calatrava. On ne peut imputer ce renoncement à la pusillanimité des templiers, à leur manque de courage devant les Almohades; ne s'expliquerait-il pas davantage par le manque de moyens, par l'incapacité de l'ordre, alors, à recruter suffisamment d'hommes pour garnir le château et peupler son territoire? Le problème ne serait-il pas plus général? La question de la compatibilité de l'engagement du Temple en Orient et en Espagne, n'a sans doute jamais cessé de se poser. En Castille bien sûr, mais aussi en Aragon. Il faut en revenir à l'accord de 1143 et à un passage de son préambule dont on n'a pas mesuré à sa juste valeur, me semble-t-il, la curieuse rédaction:

Pour défendre l'Eglise occidentale qui est en Espagne, pour harceler, combattre et expulser la race des Maures, pour exalter la sainte foi et religion chrétienne, j'ai décidé qu'une chevalerie serait instituée, *sur le modèle de la chevalerie du Temple de Salomon* qui est à Jérusalem et qui défend l'Eglise orientale, qui lui serait soumise et lui obéirait selon la règle et la sainte obéissance instituée dans cette chevalerie.<sup>27</sup>

Ne s'agit-il pas de créer un ordre nouveau en Aragon-Catalogne, sur le modèle du Temple et affilié au Temple, mais indépendant et proprement aragonais et entièrement consacré à la reconquête? Ce serait, sur une base plus solide et élargie à l'ensemble du territoire, le modèle Belchite. Le texte de ce préambule est en accord avec la lettre de Raymond-Béranger IV adressée à Robert de Craon citée ci-dessus. Les templiers seraient les cadres et formateurs de la jeune institution, puis s'éclipseraient. On peut présenter l'hypothèse que Raymond-Beranger IV se serait rendu compte, au cours des difficiles négociations qu'il a menées avec le Temple, qu'il n'obtiendrait jamais, quelque soit l'ampleur des concessions faites, l'engagement total et exclusif des templiers de son royaume sur ce front là. D'où l'idée de fonder un ordre autonome, affilié au Temple? Mais l'ordre du Temple n'accepta pas que ses hommes d'Aragon lui échappent au profit d'une autre chevalerie, même subordonnée. Aussi n'y eut-il pas alors un Temple aragonais (pas plus qu'il n'y eut, malgré ce qu'on en a dit, un Temple portugais).

Mais il n'est pas nécessaire d'espérer pour entreprendre. Les rois d'Aragon revinrent à la charge. Ce fut Montjoie.

26 E. Picavea Matilla, *Las ordenes militares y la frontera* (Madrid, 1994).

27 'Ego Raimundus Berengarii, comes Barchinonensis et Dei gracia regni dominator Aragonensis, virtute spiritus sancti commotus, in celestis milicie potentia ad defendendam occidentalem ecclesiam que est in Yspanis ad deprimendam et debellandam et expellendam gentem maurorum ad exaltandam sancte christianitatis fidem et religionem ad exemplum Militie Templi Salomonis in Iherusalem, que orientalem defendit ecclesiam, in subiectione et obedientia illius secundum regulam et eiusdem Milicie instituta, beate obedientie miliciam constituer decrevi': Sans i Travé, *Barberà*, p. 111.

## Montjoie<sup>28</sup>

Le successeur de Raymond-Béranger IV, Alphonse II (1162–96) trouva que son père avait été bien généreux envers les templiers et rogna leurs priviléges. Il considéra avec beaucoup d'intérêt les expériences castillanes et léonaises: Calatrava, Santiago, Alcantara, autant d'ordres 'nationaux', engagés sur le seul terrain ibérique et concurrents du Temple et de l'Hôpital. Autant Raymond-Béranger IV avait favorisé le Temple, autant Alphonse II s'efforça-t-il de le contrecarrer. La partie se joua dans le sud de l'Aragon, une zone frontière du même type que la basse vallée de l'Ebre: sa défense et sa colonisation aurait donc pu être confiée au Temple. Alphonse II fit tout pour éviter cette solution. Aussi saisit-il l'occasion offerte par un noble léonais, Rodrigo, comte de Sarrià, qui quitta l'ordre de Santiago qu'il trouvait trop laxiste, pour fonder une nouvelle institution religieuse et militaire. Le pape Alexandre III accepta son projet à condition que le nouvel ordre soit affilié à Cîteaux. Rodrigo et le chapitre de Cîteaux acceptèrent cela en 1174 ou 1175. Le nouvel ordre suivait la règle de Cîteaux; il était placé directement sous la tutelle de l'abbaye-mère (à la différence d'Alcantara et de Calatrava qui dépendait d'une 'fille' de Cîteaux, Morimond). Le roi d'Aragon, dès 1174, fit des dons à Rodrigo; il lui imposa d'installer le siège de son ordre à Alfambra, et de protéger, défendre et peupler le sud du royaume. C'est la mission que son père avait confié aux templiers sur l'Ebre.

L'ordre prend le nom de Montjoie et s'invente une origine plus relevée: en Terre sainte, c'est de la colline de Montjoie que le pèlerin, émerveillé, découvre Jérusalem. Selon cette légende, Rodrigo aurait fondé son ordre en Terre sainte et ne l'aurait implanté en Espagne qu'ensuite. J. Delaville Le Roux racontait encore ainsi l'origine de l'ordre. Laissons cela et restons en Aragon.

En 1180, une bulle pontificale donne à Montjoie tous les priviléges accordés autrefois aux autres ordres militaires. Alphonse II le protège. Pourtant l'ordre végète et il doit solliciter une autorisation pontificale pour attirer en son sein les mercenaires, brabançons et autres. Cela ne fait qu'aggraver les choses si bien qu'en 1186, la fusion de Montjoie avec l'ordre du Temple est envisagée mais le roi d'Aragon s'y oppose. Deux ans plus tard il favorise au contraire l'union de Montjoie avec l'hôpital du Rédempteur de Teruel, ordre fondé pour le rachat des captifs. Le nouvel ordre a son siège à Teruel, mais garde sa mission militaire. Sa réussite n'est pas probante si bien qu'en 1196, la question de l'union avec le Temple est reposée à nouveau. La majorité des membres de l'ordre y sont alors favorables et le 26 février, le Rédempteur et le Temple s'accordent; en avril, le roi Alphonse II accepte la fusion. Une minorité fait scission et s'installe à Montsragüe, sur le Tage en Castille.

Pourquoi Alphonse II a-t-il fini par se rallier à une solution dont visiblement il ne voulait pas? A. Forey pense qu'il craignait que la frontière sud de son royaume ne reste dégarnie, car le nouvel ordre de Montjoie-Rédempteur n'assumait pas, en fait, sa mission de défense et de colonisation. Les ordres castillano-léonais avaient

28 A. Forey, 'The Order of Mountjoy', *Speculum* 46 (1971), pp. 250–66; J. Delaville Le Roux, 'L'ordre de Montjoie', *Revue de l'Orient Latin* 1 (1893), pp. 42–57.

étaient plus ou moins sollicités, mais ils étaient bien trop occupés à lutter contre les Almohades en Castille pour s'intéresser alors à l'Aragon. Ne restait donc que le Temple, bien implanté en Aragon. Retournement paradoxal de la situation!

### Pour conclure

Les rois d'Aragon, comme le Temple ont hésité. Ne pas compter que sur le Temple d'un côté; s'engager mais pas trop, de l'autre.

La politique des rois d'Aragon envers le Temple n'est pas tortueuse, car finalement on y reconnaît une ligne directrice assez claire; mais c'est une politique en dent de scie. Les souverains souhaiteraient un Temple aragonais, engagé totalement dans la reconquête, qui n'oublierait cependant pas totalement Jérusalem. Alors que le Temple, ordre supranational pense d'abord à Jérusalem, même s'il accepte finalement de consacrer une partie de ses moyens à la reconquête. Face à cet ordre indépendant, indispensable mais qui risque de devenir trop envahissant, Alphonse II a recherché une solution alternative qui apparaît déjà dans l'acte de 1143. Montjoie est une tentative de réaliser cette solution, mais il y en eut d'autre comme la création, vers la même époque de l'ordre d'Alcalà de la Selva.<sup>29</sup>

Les templiers ont participé à la conquête de Majorque; ils ont donc eu une part du butin et ont eut leur part dans le partage des biens opérés par le roi Jacques I<sup>er</sup> le conquérant. Les hospitaliers sont arrivés après la bataille et n'ont pas été compris dans le partage. Le roi convainc ses barons de leur donner quelque chose 'car un homme et un ordre pareils, il ne faut pas les mécontenter mais au contraire accéder à leur volonté'.<sup>30</sup>

Le règlement de l'affaire du Temple en 1312 montre bien que Jacques II n'a pas renoncé aux projets que Raymond-Béranger IV et Alphonse II avaient eu.

On sait que la bulle *Ad providam* fulminée par Clément V lors du concile de Vienne, en 1312, donnait les biens du Temple à l'Hôpital, mais, le cas de la péninsule ibérique était réservé. Jacques II d'Aragon était ouvert à toutes solutions, sauf celle de la remise des biens à l'Hôpital; il va militer pour la création d'un nouvel ordre purement aragonais à qui l'on remettrait les biens du Temple et ceux de ... l'Hôpital! Mais il ne s'agit pas tout à fait d'un ordre nouveau puisque, selon les instructions données à son ambassadeur à Vienne, il souhaite donner ces biens à la branche aragonaise de l'ordre de Calatrava, qui deviendrait du même coup indépendant de l'ordre basé en Castille:

Si cela plaisait au Seigneur pape, le roi consentirait volontiers que fut établie une maîtrise de l'ordre de Calatrava en la terre du Seigneur roi, lequel ordre descend et est près de l'ordre de Citeaux qui est sain et bon [...]. Ils [les frères] ne seraient pas pour autant

29 Voir à ce sujet P. Josserand, 'L'abbaye de la Sauve Majeure et l'ordre militaire d'Alcalà de la Selva', à paraître dans *Cahiers de Fanjeaux*, no. 41.

30 'Le livre des faits de Jacques le Conquérant', éd. R. Vinas, *La conquête de Majorque* (Perpignan, 2004), p. 86.

soumis ni à la correction, ni à la visite du maître ou de la maison de Calatrava en Castille ....<sup>31</sup>

Reste donc à savoir pourquoi les rois d'Aragon, qui avaient tout ce qu'il faut dans leurs Etats pour faire comme les rois de Castille et Leon, n'ont pas réussi à le faire. Peut-être l'explication se trouve-t-elle dans le testament d'Alphonse I<sup>er</sup> de 1131 – qui reste, quoi qu'en pense, bien insolite – et l'acte de 1143: d'un coup et trop vite, une place énorme a été faite au Temple dans les pays de la couronne d'Aragon. Le déloger devenait dès lors, impossible. Et puis, pour ces pays tournés vers la Méditerranée orientale, le Temple (et l'Hôpital aussi), ordre de Terre sainte, pouvait se révéler bien utile.

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31 H. Fink, éd., *Papsttum und Untergang des Templerordens*, 2 vols (Münster, 1907), t. 2, no. 125, p. 233.



## Chapter 11

# The Military Orders and the East, 1149–1291

Jonathan Riley-Smith

It has always been recognized that within a decade of the First Crusade, the new Latin settlements in the Levant were adjusting to the kaleidoscopic pattern of Near Eastern politics, in which small states constantly shifted in and out of alliances with each other.<sup>1</sup> Evidence of the perceptions of an influential élite is provided by the letters sent to Europe by leading brothers of the Temple and the Hospital. Being celibate religious who had taken full vows and were permanently committed to holy war in defence of the Holy Land, these men were managers of ideological violence on behalf of Latin Christianity. Most, if not all, of them had been born and raised in western Europe before joining their orders, but they had served for many years in the east, and had close relations with the settlers. Fifty-two letters written by them between 1149 and 1291 survive, of which 24 were addressed to kings, 10 to higher clergy, 4 to lay nobles and 14 to fellow members of their orders living in the west. In almost every case, the purpose was to inform the addressee of the state of affairs in the Levant and to solicit help. The reception of a significant number of the letters was the start of a process of wider distribution, since 16 were copied into contemporary histories and another was paraphrased by a historian. Most of the letters to kings, however, did not circulate, and must have been written for the personal information of the ruler concerned.

If we leave aside the earliest of these letters, in which the dapifer of the Templars begged the grand master to return to the east with reinforcements and money in a crisis which followed the near annihilation of the army of the northern Christian settlers in the battle of Inab (29 June 1149),<sup>2</sup> and the last two, an appeal by the master of the Hospital for reinforcements after his order had lost 40 brothers in the unsuccessful defence of Tripoli in 1289 and the same correspondent's heart-rending description of the fall of Acre in 1291,<sup>3</sup> the sequence is framed by two collections,

1 See especially M.A. Kohler, *Allianzen und Verträge zwischen fränkischen und islamischen Herrschern im Vorderen Orient* (Berlin and New York, 1991), *passim*.

2 L. d'Achéry and L. F. J. de la Barre, eds, *Spicilegium sive collectio veterum aliquot scriptorum*, 3 vols (Paris, 1725), 3.501 (=RRH, no. 261).

3 J. Delaville Le Roulx, ed., *Cartulaire général de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de St Jean de Jérusalem*, 4 vols (Paris, 1894–1906) (hereafter *Cart. Hosp.*), 3.541, 592–3 (=RRH nos 1,493, 1,513).

written in each case to a king. The first comprises seven letters written in 1163 and 1164 by the Templar grand master Bertrand de Blanchefort and one of his senior brothers, Geoffroy Foucher, to King Louis VII of France.<sup>4</sup> Louis had been a leader of the Second Crusade, and since his return to Europe in 1149 had shown enough interest in the fate of the Holy Land for the settlers to be convinced that he was the most likely western ruler to lend them assistance. He was, as Dr Jonathan Phillips has written, being 'targeted' by them.<sup>5</sup> The Templars were in a strong position in this respect, because Louis had been exceptionally reliant on them during the Second Crusade.

In the course of explaining the relative strengths of Muslims and Christians, these letters described the capture and imprisonment of the prince of Antioch in 1160 by Nur ad-Din, the Zengid ruler of Syria and most important of the settlers' enemies;<sup>6</sup> the threat of a renewed advance on Antioch by the Byzantine emperor Manuel, who had imposed his overlordship over the principality a few years before;<sup>7</sup> the death in 1163 of King Baldwin III of Jerusalem, 'an impregnable wall for the house of Israel';<sup>8</sup> an earthquake in 1163;<sup>9</sup> the invasion of Egypt by Baldwin's successor Amalric in the summer of 1164, in response to a descent on that country by Nur ad-Din's general, Shirkuh; the bottling up of Shirkuh in Bilbais and his withdrawal;<sup>10</sup> Nur ad-Din's counter-move, leading to another defeat of the forces of the northern settlements and the capture of the prince of Antioch and the count of Tripoli;<sup>11</sup> Amalric's hurried journey up to Antioch to save the situation;<sup>12</sup> and the loss of the fortress-town of Banyas, north of the Sea of Galilee.<sup>13</sup> Louis was being provided with a fairly accurate survey of events of military significance over a period of about eighteen months.

The survey was supplemented by expressions of opinion about Muslim strategy. Bertrand de Blanchefort thought that Nur ad-Din wanted to exploit the decline of the Fatimid caliphate in Cairo by seizing Egypt. This would enable him to close the Mediterranean to Christian shipping – presumably by making use of what was left of the Fatimid galley fleet – while the addition of Egypt to the other territories

4 'Epistolarum regis Ludovici VII et Variorum ad eum Volumen', *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, ed. M. Bouquet et al., 24 vols (Paris, 1737–1904), 16.38, 38–9, 39, 60–61, 62–3, 79–80, 80–81 (=RRH nos 383, 398, 399, 403, 404, 406, 407). Two other letters, from Bertrand de Blanchefort and the Hospitaller master, Gilbert d'Assailly, requested Louis to assist Guillaume de Dampierre, whose lands in France had been devastated while he was on crusade: 'Epistolarum ... Volumen', p. 145 (=RRH nos 436–7).

5 J. Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land: Relations between the Latin East and the West, 1119–1187* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 140–49.

6 'Epistolarum ... Volumen', p. 38.

7 Ibid., pp. 39, 62–3.

8 Ibid., p. 38.

9 Ibid.

10 Ibid., pp. 60–61, 63, 79–81.

11 Ibid., pp. 60–61, 62–3.

12 Ibid.

13 Ibid., p. 80.

under his control would create a power which it would be hard for the Christians to withstand.<sup>14</sup> He was right to be concerned, because within seven years Nur ad-Din had taken over Egypt.

In spite of a manifest anxiety about the situation and a desire to arouse the king to action, expressed at times by the use of phrases which echoed *Quantum praedecessores*, the papal letter which had proclaimed the Second Crusade,<sup>15</sup> the treatment of the Muslims in these letters was restrained. In one they were referred to as 'enemies of the cross',<sup>16</sup> and in another as 'persecutors of truth and faith' and 'persecutors of the church, gathering ... as if they were one man, against the sanctuary of God and with the intention of wiping the memory of us from the land'.<sup>17</sup> Nur ad-Din was called on one occasion 'unworthy',<sup>18</sup> and on another 'most wicked', leading (in an apparent reference to Psalm 21:17) 'the superabundant forces of his dogs'.<sup>19</sup> But that was the sum of the pejorative remarks. On the whole, the tone was matter-of-fact. It is also clear that the grand master considered the threat to Antioch from the Byzantine Greeks to be almost as worrying as that posed by the Muslims.<sup>20</sup>

The second collection consists of six letters written by two Hospitaller masters, Hugues Revel and Nicolas Lorgne, and a senior brother, Joseph Chauncy, to King Edward I of England between 1275 and 1282,<sup>21</sup> together with a seventh sent to Edward by the Templar grand master Guillaume de Beaujeu.<sup>22</sup> Edward was another crusading enthusiast, who had journeyed on to the east in 1270 after the collapse of the crusade before Tunis. He had an international reputation as a result, and continued to plan for another expedition almost to his death. The Hospitallers had a close relationship with him through Joseph Chauncy, who was probably an Englishman, as may indeed have been Hugues Revel.<sup>23</sup> In 1273, Joseph, who had been treasurer of the convent in Acre, had been made prior of England, and Edward, who may well have met him when he was on crusade, appointed him treasurer of his kingdom. Joseph was recalled to Palestine in 1281, and he seems to have stayed there, although Edward was forever demanding his return.<sup>24</sup>

14 *Ibid.*, pp. 79–81. For the Egyptian fleet, see J. Pryor, *Geography, Technology and War* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 112–34.

15 See especially 'Epistolarum ... Volumen', p. 63.

16 *Ibid.*, p. 61.

17 *Ibid.*, p. 38.

18 *Ibid.*, p. 60.

19 *Ibid.*, pp. 79–80.

20 *Ibid.*, pp. 39, 63, 80.

21 *Cart. Hosp.* 3.330–31, 385–6 417–18, 423–4, 424–8; 4.297 (=RRH nos 1,403, 1,442, 1,443b, 1,445–6, 1470).

22 C. Kohler and C.V. Langlois, 'Lettres inédites concernant les croisades (1275–1307)', *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 52 (1891), pp. 55–6 (=RRH no. 1,404).

23 See C. Humphery-Smith, *Hugh Revel* (Chichester, 1994), *passim*.

24 J. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, c.1050–1310* (London, 1967), p. 312.

The letters are full of news about the Mongols. The ilkhan of Iran, Hülegü, had initiated rather cautious contacts with the west in the 1260s and these had been developed by his successor, the ilkhan Abaqa. They held out the prospect of combined operations against the Muslims and even of the eventual conversion of the Mongols to Christianity. Edward himself had become quite deeply involved in the diplomacy while on crusade. A Mongol delegation attended the council of Lyons in 1274, and one of its members, the Dominican David of Ashby, who had been close to the ilkhans for some time, travelled on to England after the council to deliver a message from Abaqa to Edward.<sup>25</sup> In September 1275, Hugues Revel reported that, although a truce with the Mamluk government in Egypt still held, a threat was developing to its Syrian empire from Abaqa, who, according to Hugues, had something to prove before obeying the great khan Qubilai's summons to travel to the Far East to report on Mongol gains in the region. The Mamluk sultan Baybars, who had lost many men and animals in a campaign in Cilician Armenia that spring and was assembling what army he could at Damascus, was concerned whether he could meet the costs of mercenary troops. This meant that the Latin settlements were spared any threat from him at present.<sup>26</sup> Guillaume de Beaujeu confirmed that Baybars was at Damascus as rumours about the plans of the Mongols spread, but he was much less sanguine about the sultan's present intentions towards the Christians.<sup>27</sup> In fact, there was an abortive Mongol thrust against the Mamluks towards the end of the year, although it is hard to say where Hugues got the news that Abaqa had been summoned to the great khan's court.

A Mongol army from Iran occupied northern Syria in the autumn of 1280. A year later, Nicolas Lorgne reported to Edward that it was on the move, under the command, which was actually nominal, of Abaqa's young brother, Mengü Temür. Nicolas wrote that Mengü Temür was leading an enormous force which was now only two days away from Cilician Armenia, that he was expected to enter Syria, and that the Mongols were proposing an alliance with the Christian settlers. The Mamluk sultan Qalawun had mustered his forces at Damascus, and the Hospitallers, worried by the presence of such a powerful army so close to them, had brought the garrison of Marqab, their remaining great castle, up to strength; it had been somewhat reduced following one of several truces made by the Mamluks to protect their rear while they took on the Mongols.<sup>28</sup> Two Mongol armies, reinforced by

25 R. Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks: The Mamluk-Ilkhanid War, 1260-1281* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 94-102.

26 *Cart. Hosp.* 3.330-31 (=RRH no. 1,403).

27 Kohler and Langlois, 'Lettres inédites', p. 55 (=RRH no. 1,404). Guillaume may have written to all the major rulers in Europe when he took up post in Acre in 1275, since a letter from him of about the same date to the king of the Romans, Rudolf of Habsburg, also survives; O. Redlich, ed., *Eine Wiener Briefsammlung zur Geschichte des deutschen Reiches und der österreichischen Länder in der zweiten Hälfte des XIII. Jahrhunderts* (Vienna, 1894), pp. 63-4.

28 *Cart. Hosp.* 3.417-18 (=RRH no. 1,442). For a reference to the truce with Marqab, see P.M. Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy (1260-1290)* (Leiden, 1995), p. 63.

Georgian and Armenian troops under their kings, confronted the Mamluks outside Homs on 30 October 1281, and the resulting Mamluk victory was described in great detail by Nicolas Lorgne and Joseph Chauncy, who both expressed the view that the Muslims, who had suffered enormous losses, were so weakened by the conflict that if only help would come from the west, advantage might be taken of it.<sup>29</sup>

These letters have the same features as those written to Louis VII of France over a century earlier. It is clear that the Hospitallers knew quite well what was happening in western Asia but did not believe everything they heard uncritically. In 1282, Nicolas Lorgne wrote that letters had been received from the Mongols announcing their imminent return to the region – Abaqa had been wintering near Baghdad, and Mengü Temür near Mardin – but he added that this information had not been confirmed, which suggests that he had surmised, rightly as it turned out, that the Mongols may have been trying to hide how damaged they had been at Homs.<sup>30</sup> Joseph Chauncy reported that taxes had been raised in Egypt, that Qalawun was conscripting an army to march against Marqab and Cilicia, and that the Mamluk garrison commander of Safad in northern Galilee was forbidding Beduin to pasture their flocks near the castle because the Egyptian army would need the fodder.<sup>31</sup>

The language employed throughout was, moreover, positive. The tone taken with respect to the Mongols may have been adopted in part to please Edward – Mengü Temür was described by Joseph Chauncy as ‘prous ... et hardis et seur chevalier’ – but there was not a single barbed reference to the Muslims; on the contrary, the battle of Homs had been won by the ‘bon portement dou soudan, et le sen et la valor de lui’.<sup>32</sup>

These two sets of letters are characteristic of the entire sequence, in which the knowledge shown of those aspects of Near Eastern politics relevant to the situation in which the settlers found themselves is accurate and detailed within certain limits. Between 1196 and 1202, for example, the Hospitaller master, Geoffroy de Donjon, addressed three letters to King Sancho VII of Navarre<sup>33</sup> and a fourth to the Hospitaller prior of England,<sup>34</sup> whilst another letter was written by the Templar master, Philippe de Plessis, to the abbot of Citeaux.<sup>35</sup> The first to the king was sent in April 1196. Saladin had died in 1193. Geoffroy reported that al-‘Adil, Saladin’s brother and at that time ruler of the Jazirah and upper Iraq, had raided the county of Tripoli and was expected in Palestine any day. He had made his son, al-Muazzam ‘Isa, lord of

29 *Cart. Hosp.* 3.423–4,424–8 (=RRH nos 1,445–6). See Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks*, pp. 183–201.

30 *Cart. Hosp.* 3.423–4 (=RRH no. 1,445). See also p. 427 (=RRH no. 1,446).

31 *Cart. Hosp.* 3.426–7 (=RRH no. 1,446).

32 *Cart. Hosp.* 3.425 (=RRH no. 1,446).

33 S.A. García Larragueta, ed., *El Gran Priorado de Navarra de la Orden de San Juan de Jerusalén*, 2 vols (Pamplona, 1957), 2.85–90; H.E. Mayer, ‘Two Unpublished Letters on the Syrian Earthquake of 1202’, *Medieval and Middle Eastern Studies in Honor of A.S. Atiya* (Leiden, 1972), pp. 306–8. (=RRH nos 728, 752, 789).

34 *Cart. Hosp.* 2.1–3.

35 Mayer, ‘Two Unpublished Letters’, pp. 308–9.

Jerusalem (in fact, of Kerak and Transjordan). Geoffroy added that the Nile had flooded disastrously, and that Egypt was suffering extreme famine.<sup>36</sup> On 23 April 1199, he tried to explain to the king the complicated politics of Ayyubid family relationships. He described the attempts that Saladin's son, al-'Aziz 'Uthman of Egypt, had made to displace his elder brother al-Afdal 'Ali of Damascus, al-'Adil's attempts to reconcile his nephews, and his eventual support for al-'Aziz, who had replaced al-Afdal as the senior Ayyubid prince. Geoffroy, who was concerned about the future because the truce negotiated between Saladin and Richard of England had ended, added that al-'Adil and al-'Aziz had reached Jerusalem, and that their intentions were not known. He need not have worried, since al-'Aziz had already died and al-'Adil's chief interest at this time was the consolidation of his lands in the Jazirah.<sup>37</sup>

The next turn in Islamic politics was described by Geoffroy in a letter, probably written in 1201, to the Hospitaller prior of England. A confused civil war which had followed the death of al-'Aziz in November 1198 had ended two years later with al-'Adil in control of Egypt – thus reuniting Cairo and Damascus – although there was bad blood between him and his third nephew, az-Zahir Ghazi, the ruler of Aleppo. In reporting this, Geoffroy added that al-'Adil was confined to Egypt, where he suspected treachery, and that now the Nile had failed to flood, with appalling consequences for the population, which had already descended like a plague of locusts on Palestine and Syria in search of food.<sup>38</sup> His third letter to the king of Navarre, written in June 1202, described one of the worst earthquakes which had ever struck the region, causing widespread destruction and entailing the rebuilding of the Hospitaller castles of Crac des Chevaliers and Marqab.<sup>39</sup> The earthquake was also reported by Philippe de Plessis, who added that al-'Adil had made peace with az-Zahir of Aleppo and that their reconciliation threatened the Latin settlements.<sup>40</sup>

Every now and then, the senior officers of the Military Orders provided their correspondents with additional information which they must have supposed would interest them. Geoffroy de Donjon had heard that a young Muslim shepherd had adopted Christianity and had engaged in an evangelical preaching campaign among

36 Garcia Larragueta, ed., *El Gran Priorado*, 2.89–90 (=RRH no. 728). For Ayyubid politics during the period covered by Geoffroy's letters, see R.S. Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols: The Ayyubids of Damascus, 1193–1260* (Albany, NY, 1977), pp. 87–123.

37 Garcia Larragueta, ed., *El Gran Priorado*, 2.87–8 (=RRH 752). Mayer ('Two Unpublished Letters', p. 300) tries, I think wrongly, to re-date this letter to 1201.

38 *Cart. Hosp.* 2.1–2 (=RRH no. 787). The failure of the Nile flood and the economic crisis in Egypt were among the main reasons why the Fourth Crusade was originally aimed at Alexandria: Gunther of Pairis, *Hystoria Constantinopolitana*, ed. P. Orth (Hildesheim/Zurich, 1994), p. 121.

39 Mayer, 'Two Unpublished Letters', pp. 306–8 (=Garcia Larragueta, ed., *El Gran Priorado*, 2.85–7; RRH no. 789).

40 Mayer, 'Two Unpublished Letters', pp. 308–10. The letter was also edited in M.L. Bulst-Thiele, *Sacrae Domus Militiae Templi Hierosolymitani Magistri* (Göttingen, 1974), pp. 360–61.

his compatriots, which had led to two thousand of them being converted.<sup>41</sup> Armand de Peragors wrote that a grandson of as-Salih Isma'il of Damascus had converted to Christianity and was now called Martin.<sup>42</sup> Gui de Basainville had learned in 1256 of the earthquake and volcanic eruption in Arabia which destroyed Muhammad's tomb at Medina.<sup>43</sup> They had some knowledge of Muslim political institutions. Geoffroy de Donjon described how al-'Adil invested his nephew, al-'Aziz, as paramount ruler over the Ayyubids,<sup>44</sup> Guillaume de Chartres distinguished al-'Adil from the rest of his family by calling him 'magnus soldanus',<sup>45</sup> Baghdad was described by Gui de Basainville as the place 'ubi Sarracenorū caput est',<sup>46</sup> and Thomas Berard drew on a very inaccurate convention by comparing the caliph to a pope.<sup>47</sup> On no occasion did they touch on the culture of their neighbours or distinguish the forms of Islam to which they adhered, but one should not necessarily conclude from this that they did not know more or that they were not interested. It is in line with the business-like nature of their letters that they confined themselves to the relevant information that they felt needed to be conveyed to the west.

The second feature to which I have already drawn attention is the generally restrained tone they adopted when describing Muslims and other easterners. Many of the letters were, of course, private, but even when they seem to have been intended for a wider circulation, they were neutrally expressed. The most polemical of the letter-writers was Geoffroy de Donjon, to whom Saladin was 'our persecutor' and a 'persecutor of the law of God',<sup>48</sup> al-'Adil was 'that son of iniquity' and 'the worst of the enemies of Christians',<sup>49</sup> and the Egyptians were 'those Babylonian dogs'.<sup>50</sup> Gilbert d'Assailly referred to the Holy Land being 'for a long time defiled by the filth

41 *Cart. Hosp.* 2.2 (=RRH no. 787). If this evangelical campaign ever took place, it must have occurred in c. 1200. It looks strikingly similar to the Children's Crusade in the west a decade later.

42 Aubrey of Trois-Fontaines, 'Chronica a monacho Novi Monasterii Hoiensis interpolate', *MGH SS* 23.945 (=RRH no. 1,088).

43 A. Duchesne, ed., *Historiae Francorum Scriptores*, 5 vols (Paris, 1636–49), 5.272 (=RRH, no. 1,251).

44 Garcia Larragueta, ed., *El Gran Priorado*, 2.88 (=RRH no. 752).

45 C. Baronio et al., eds, *Annales ecclesiastici*, new edn, 37 vols (Bar-le-Duc and Paris, 1864–87), 20.372 (=RRH no. 902).

46 Duchesne, ed., *Historiae Francorum Scriptores*, 5.272 (=RRH no. 1,251).

47 'Annales de Burton', ed. H.R. Luard, *Annales Monastici*, 5 vols, *RS* 36 (London, 1864–69), 1.492. See *Monumentorum Boicorum collectio nova*, ed. Accademia scientiarum Boica, 29.ii (Munich, 1831), p. 198 (=RRH nos 1,299, 1,303). The letter-writers used the word 'sultan' indiscriminately of all the Ayyubid rulers, which might be thought to be a sign of ignorance were it not for the fact that the Ayyubids adopted the title fairly indiscriminately themselves: Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols*, pp. 365–9.

48 *Cart. Hosp.* 1.597–8; Garcia Larragueta, ed., *El Gran Priorado*, 2.88 (=RRH nos 712, 752).

49 Garcia Larragueta, ed., *El Gran Priorado*, 2.90; *Cart. Hosp.* 2.2 (=RRH nos 728, 787).

50 Garcia Larragueta, *El Gran Priorado*, 2.90 (=RRH no. 728).

of the pagans' in c. 1165<sup>51</sup> and Guillaume de Châteauneuf wrote of the Khwarizmians as 'an infinite multitude of barbaric and perverse people' in 1244.<sup>52</sup> Elsewhere in the 52 letters one finds the following epithets: 'abominable' (*nefandus*) once,<sup>53</sup> 'proud' twice,<sup>54</sup> 'perfidious' six times,<sup>55</sup> 'blasphemers against Christ' once,<sup>56</sup> 'cunning' once,<sup>57</sup> 'enemies of the Christian faith' once,<sup>58</sup> 'enemies of the cross' once,<sup>59</sup> 'impious' once,<sup>60</sup> 'most unjust' (*iniquissimus*) once,<sup>61</sup> 'persecutor of Christians' once,<sup>62</sup> 'cruel' once,<sup>63</sup> 'malicious' once<sup>64</sup> and 'most wicked' (*nequissimus*) once.<sup>65</sup> I have listed every single derogatory reference. One would find more – many more – in the materials for any petty ecclesiastical dispute in Europe in that period.

It was in the nature of crusade ideology that reverses in the 'business of Christ', the divinely authorized warfare that accorded with God's intentions for mankind, had to be attributed to the unworthiness of the instruments at his disposal. The Christian military leaders had to accept that however committed they themselves were, they might prove themselves to be unequal to the task God had given them. That is why the letters were so often peppered with references to their own unworthiness and why every major defeat was attributed to their own sins. And it may be why restraint is especially noticeable in those letters dealing with real or potential disaster. In three letters written in the aftermath of the battle of Hattin and Saladin's conquest of Jerusalem – two composed by the Templar grand commander Terricus<sup>66</sup> and the third by some leading Hospitallers<sup>67</sup> – the language was very restrained, even neutral.

Seventy years later, panic was engendered by the advance of the Mongols under Hülegü, the ilkhan of Iran. In 1256, Gui de Basainville, then Templar grand

51 *Cart. Hosp.* 4.247–8 (=RRH no. 422).

52 Matthew Paris, *Chronica maiora*, ed. H.R. Luard, 7 vols (RS 57, London, 1872–83), 4.308 (=RRH no. 1,125).

53 'Historia de expeditione Friderici', ed. A. Chroust, *MGH SS, NS* 5.4 (=RRH no. 678).

54 *Cart. Hosp.* 2.698–9; Redlich, ed., *Eine Wiener Briefsammlung*, p. 64.

55 *Cart. Hosp.* 2.698, 727, 4.291–2; Matthew Paris, *Chronica maiora*, 4.289, 6.192; Roger of Wendover, *Chronica*, ed. H.O. Coxe, 4 vols (London, 1868–71), 4.73.

56 Matthew Paris, *Chronica maiora*, 4.195

57 *Cart. Hosp.* 2.698.

58 Matthew Paris, *Chronica maiora*, 6.191.

59 Roger of Wendover, *Chronica*, 4.77.

60 Matthew Paris, *Chronica maiora*, 6.194.

61 Mayer, 'Two Unpublished Letters', p. 308.

62 Matthew Paris, *Chronica maiora*, 4.289.

63 *Ibid.*

64 Redlich, ed., *Eine Wiener Briefsammlung*, p. 64.

65 Kohler and Langlois, 'Lettres inédites', p. 55 (=RRH no. 1,404).

66 See 'Annales Colonienses Maximi', *MGH SS* 17.793; *Gesta regis Henrici secundi et Ricardi primi*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols, *RS* 49 (London, 1867), 2.13–14; Ralph of Diceto, 'Ymagines Historiarum', *Opera historica*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols, *RS* 68 (London, 1876), 2.49–50; *Cart. Hosp.* 1.527 (=RRH no. 669).

67 'Historia de expeditione Friderici', pp. 2–3 (=RRH no. 661).

commander in Acre, had written to the bishop of Orléans about Hülegü's defeat of the sultanate of Konya in Asia Minor. He reported that Mamluk Egypt and Ayyubid Damascus had made peace on the news that the Mongols were intent on invading Palestine. The Christian settlers had also received a report of Mongol plans from the king of Cilician Armenia.<sup>68</sup> In fact, the invasion was delayed as the Mongols concentrated their efforts on Iraq, but in 1260 they ravaged Aleppo and other Ayyubid principalities, and terrorized Damascus into submission.<sup>69</sup> On 16 June of that year, a Templar messenger arrived in London bringing letters for the king and for the commander of the London Temple. He had broken all records, taking only thirteen weeks to reach London from Acre and only one day to journey from Dover.<sup>70</sup> He must have been carrying a letter dated the previous 1 March, in which the papal legate in Acre had written in emotional terms to all the rulers of the west, reporting the fall of Baghdad and Aleppo and other conquests of the Mongols, 'a savage people, a fierce people', who were 'drunk on the blood of the land' they had taken. Many Muslims were fleeing for refuge to the Christian territories on the coast.<sup>71</sup> Another letter in the messenger's satchel may well have been the one written to all the senior officials of the Temple in Europe by Grand Master Thomas Berard on 4 March, since by 18 June it was in the hands of Gui de Basainville, now visitor-general in France, who also described for the benefit of his subordinate commanders the reaction of the French government to the news of the Mongol invasion of Syria. Thomas Berard had detailed the conquests of the Mongols, the size and potency of their armies, the preparations made by the rulers of Aleppo and Damascus to resist them and their approaches to Egypt for an alliance, the fall of Damascus and the flight of its ruler, the speed with which the king of Cilician Armenia and the prince of Antioch-Tripoli had come to terms, the poverty of the Christians, and the huge expenses and responsibilities of the Templars.<sup>72</sup>

68 Duchesne, ed., *Historiae Francorum Scriptores*, 5.272 (=RRH no. 1,251). The letter can be dated from its reference to earthquakes and volcanic eruptions in the Arabian peninsula which destroyed the Prophet's tomb at Medina over two months before; these took place in 1256.

69 See P. Jackson, 'The Crisis in the Holy Land in 1260', *EHR* 95 (1980), pp. 481–513.

70 *Flores historiarum* (attrib. Matthew of Westminster), ed. H.R. Luard, 3 vols, *RS* 95 (London, 1890), 2.451–2.

71 Menko, 'Chronicon', *MGH SS* 23.547–9 (=RRH no. 1,288). See also H.-F. Delaborde, 'Lettre des Chrétiens de Terre-Sainte à Charles d'Anjou (22 Avril 1260)', *Revue de l'Orient latin* 2 (1894), pp. 211–15; T. Rymer, ed., *Foedera, conventiones, litterae et acta publica inter reges Angliae et alios*, 4 vols (7 parts, London, 1816–79), 1.395–6 (=RRH nos 1,291a, 1,325). The flight of Muslims to the coast is confirmed in Arabic sources: see Jackson, 'The Crisis', p. 490.

72 'Annales de Burton', pp. 491–5; *Monumentorum Boicorum collectio nova*, 29.ii, pp. 197–202 (=RRH nos 1,299, 1,303). The grand master's letter has been dated to 1261, but it must have been written in 1260 because (1) there is no reference to the battle of 'Ayn Jalut, (2) the list of Templar castles does not include Sidon and Beaufort. For the events, see Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols*, pp. 337–59.

The air of crisis pervading these letters is palpable, but although the power, ruthlessness and cruelty of the Mongols were stressed, it is perhaps again a measure of the seriousness of the situation that there was nothing polemical in the language employed. And anyway, the crisis passed. The Mongols were halted by the Mamluks in the battle of 'Ayn Jalut on 3 September 1260, after which they withdrew from the region for a while.

Matter-of-fact, rather low-key, letters are also typical of those written to correspondents in the west by other individuals in the Levant. The Templar correspondence of the 1160s can be supplemented by 11 other letters, 8 written on behalf of King Amalric, and 3 by the patriarch of Jerusalem; 8 of these were addressed to the king of France, and 3 to the archbishop of Reims.<sup>73</sup> The language was again restrained, the only exceptions being references to 'the tyranny of the infidels',<sup>74</sup> to the Turks 'ruling despotically at will'<sup>75</sup> and to Saladin as 'that root of sin and son of perdition'.<sup>76</sup> The threat to Antioch from the Greeks was again treated as being equivalent to that from the Muslims.<sup>77</sup> With one exception, the same level tone was maintained over the next century and a third.<sup>78</sup> The hostility of the Muslims and the ferocity of, and terror induced by, the Mongols were acknowledged. Stress was laid on the positive nature of the commitment to crusade on behalf of Christ and the holy places, and a reasonably good knowledge of political events in that part of the Islamic world was revealed. The only exception to the restrained language is to be found in a passionate letter written in 1244 by the leaders in Palestine to the western Church in general. A clumsy, and in the end counter-productive, attempt by them and by the captains of two crusading armies to take advantage of a struggle for power in the Ayyubid family, by allying themselves first to one side and then to the other, had ended with Egypt turning to the Khwarizmians, the nomadic survivors of an empire south of the Aral Sea which had been fractured by the Mongols. The Khwarizmians broke into Jerusalem on 11 July 1244, and in October, fighting alongside the Egyptians, annihilated the settlers and their allies from Damascus and Transjordan in the battle of La Forbie. The letter drew attention to the ferocity of the Mongols and to the way they had driven the Khwarizmians from their homeland,

73 'Epistolarum ... Volumen', pp. 36-8, 39-40, 59-60, 61-2, 79, 151, 157, 187-8, 198-9 (=RRH nos 382, 384, 394, 396, 405, 411, 459, 463-4, 497-8).

74 'Epistolarum ... Volumen', p. 151.

75 *Ibid.*, p. 62.

76 *Ibid.*, p. 199. There is also a reference to Nur ad-Din as 'that great killer of Christian people' (*ibid.*, p. 61) and two to the Muslims as 'enemies of Christ's cross' (*ibid.*, p. 198).

77 *Ibid.*, p. 40.

78 Jacques de Vitry, 'Historia Hierosolimitana', ed. J. Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, 2 vols (Hanau, 1611), 1.1,125-9; E. Martène and U. Durand, eds, *Veterum scriptorum amplissima collectio*, 9 vols (Paris, 1724-33), 5.1,479-80; Roger of Wendover, *Chronica*, 4.145-8; E. Martène and U. Durand, eds, *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, 5 vols (Paris, 1717), 1.1,012-14; 'Annales de Burton', pp. 285-9, 368-9; Menko, 'Chronicorum', pp. 547-9; Delaborde, 'Lettre', pp. 211-15; Rymer, ed., *Foedera*, 1.395 (=RRH nos 911, 925, 984, 1,083, 1,190, 1,221, 1,288, 1,291a, 1,325, 1,348).

like 'dragons from their lairs'. It argued that the sultan of Egypt, 'the persecutor of the faith of Christ ... the head of sacrilege', had diverted these cruel nomads away from his own territory to the Holy Land, and described in colourful language their profanations, looting and murder in Jerusalem and their alliance with Egypt in the victory at La Forbie.<sup>79</sup> The Khwarizmians had been particularly violent, and this was an emotional moment, with Jerusalem now definitively lost, but since this was a disaster which the Christian leaders had brought on themselves, there must have been an element of special pleading in their words.

One might argue that the relatively neutral language in most letters stemmed from the fact that the masters of the Military Orders, and the other managers of crusading violence, could not afford to be too emotional. Their responsibility was to defend the frontiers as sensibly as possible. It has been recognized for a long time that familiarity with conditions in the east bred a relaxed attitude on their part, and that recently arrived westerners could be far more aggressive and intolerant.<sup>80</sup> The last grand master of the Temple, Jacques de Molay, recalled the discontent he and other pugnacious young brothers newly arrived from the west had felt at what they considered to be Grand Master Guillaume de Beaujeu's policy of appeasement in the 1270s and 1280s.<sup>81</sup> But on the other hand, the writers of the letters must have believed that the kings, senior churchmen and great nobles in the west to whom they wrote appreciated their matter-of-fact, unemotional tone, since if they had been convinced that their correspondents, from whom they were, after all, soliciting assistance, would have been responsive to highly coloured language, they would certainly have used it. The bulk of the correspondence from the west to them has been lost, but circumstantial evidence suggests that senior figures in Europe must have written to them in the same understated language. It is natural to wonder which was more typical of western attitudes: the emotionally charged aggression of many newcomers to the Levant, or the cooler matter-of-factness which was obviously appreciated by the correspondents of the Military Orders.

The answer is that probably both co-existed. The hostility expressed by new arrivals had almost certainly been fuelled by crusade sermons. Crusading was a voluntary activity, and it was the responsibility of preachers to persuade men to volunteer for enterprises which were expensive, inconvenient, uncomfortable and dangerous. To rouse them, they had recourse to hyperbole and theatricality.<sup>82</sup> The tone adopted in seven letters written between October 1216 and April 1221 by Jacques de Vitry, one of the best-known crusade preachers and the newly appointed bishop of Acre, suggests that once he had got into his stride, it was hard for a preacher to

79 Matthew Paris, *Chronica maiora*, 4.337–44 (=RRH no. 1,127). See Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols*, pp. 265–81.

80 See J. Riley-Smith, 'Government and the Indigenous in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem', in *Medieval Frontiers: Concepts and Practices*, ed. D. Abulafia and N. Berend (Aldershot, 2002), *passim*.

81 J. Michelet, ed., *Le procès des Templiers*, 2 vols (Paris, 1841–51), 1.44–5.

82 See J. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A History*, 2nd edn (London, 2005), pp. 184–6.

divest himself of the feelings he had been trying to arouse. Jacques was an intelligent and well-educated man who was to become a cardinal in 1229. He was already in his fifties, but was new to the east. His correspondents were clerical friends in western Europe, including Pope Honorius III, and it has been pointed out that the letters 'were not official documents: it is not the bishop who speaks but the friend who recounts'.<sup>83</sup> In other words, Jacques was not being too careful about what he wrote. He described his journey overland to Genoa, the sea-crossing to Acre, a preaching expedition as far north as Marqab, the arrival of the Fifth Crusade and its early forays in Palestine, and its invasion of Egypt and taking of the city of Damietta. He was interested in, if often somewhat disapproving of, everything: the different Christian sects and forms of Islam,<sup>84</sup> the shrines in Palestine and Syria he was able to visit, the practice of incubation, the Nile and crocodiles,<sup>85</sup> Muslim and eastern Christian prophecies,<sup>86</sup> the condition of the Christians in Egypt, their existence deeper in the Orient – he seems to have believed that Asia was very largely Christian – and the possibility that in the Far East there was a powerful Christian emperor, spiritually subject to the Nestorian *catholicos* in Baghdad, who was going to defeat Islam and restore Jerusalem to Christianity.<sup>87</sup> He seems to have been particularly taken with the possible conversion of the Muslims – in this, of course, he reflected the self-confident missionary enthusiasm which was becoming a feature of Latin Christianity<sup>88</sup> – and he had acquired a relatively good knowledge of the caliphate in Baghdad and of the relationships between the Ayyubid princelings.<sup>89</sup> But his judgements were more extreme, as well as being more theological, than those of the brothers of the Military Orders. Islam was 'the fraud and execrable doctrine of Muhammad',<sup>90</sup> 'the pestiferous tradition and execrable law of perfidious Muhammad'<sup>91</sup> and 'the perfidious law of the Agarenes ... the abominable law of impious men',<sup>92</sup> whilst the Prophet's name was 'the accursed name of perfidious Muhammad, an abominable name which the mouth of a demon pronounced'.<sup>93</sup>

There can be little doubt that there was in the minds of medieval westerners a construct of the Orient. It rested on a fear which justified the crusades, the

83 R.B.C. Huygens, introduction to his edition of Jacques de Vitry, *Lettres* (Leiden, 1960), p. 7.

84 Jacques de Vitry, *Lettres*, pp. 84–5, 95–6.

85 *Ibid.*, p. 104.

86 *Ibid.*, pp. 150–52.

87 *Ibid.*, pp. 141–50.

88 *Ibid.*, pp. 88, 94–7, 108, 132–3. Jacques included an extraordinarily optimistic letter of Patriarch Aymar of Jerusalem in his 'Historia Hierosolimitana', pp. 1,125–9.

89 Jacques de Vitry, *Lettres*, p. 144. He was quite right in believing that the caliph an-Nasir had ruled for forty-one years (he had come to power in 1180) and that he was the son of al-Mustadi'.

90 *Ibid.*, p. 92.

91 *Ibid.*, p. 141.

92 *Ibid.*, p. 152.

93 *Ibid.*, p. 123.

establishment of the Military Orders and the waging of defensive wars on behalf of the Christian presence in Palestine. Medieval Christians did not have at their disposal Edward Said's 'continuous history of unchallenged Western dominance';<sup>94</sup> if anything, the power of the east and the potential it had for destroying Christendom were exaggerated by them. But the correspondence of those most actively engaged in continuous war against Islam is characterized by a relatively neutral tone, which is a long way from the polemics upon which Norman Daniel, who influenced Said, built his belief in a modern western 'superiority complex' originating in medieval abuse.<sup>95</sup> As far as we can tell, a matter-of-fact language was a feature of the continuous dialogue kept up between the leaders in the east and the popes and kings in the west. It made sense in the circumstances in which they found themselves. Indeed, the histrionics indulged in by crusade preachers must have made it hard for those on whose shoulders the defence of the Holy Land actually rested, because they were faced by unreasonable expectations and were inevitably blamed if the war on God's behalf turned against them.

94 E. Said, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (1978, repr. with new Afterword, London, 1995), p. 73.

95 N. Daniel, *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image* (1960, revised edn, Chatham, NY, 1993), *passim*.



## Chapter 12

# The Old French William of Tyre and the Origins of the Templars

Peter W. Edbury<sup>1</sup>

In a well-known chapter (XII.7), William of Tyre gave an account of the origins of the Templars. William's story is of a small group of knights who in the year 1118 were given the task of protecting pilgrims coming to Jerusalem; institutionalized as a religious order at the council of Troyes nine years later, they then grew in size and wealth so that they came to hold property throughout Europe; but with wealth came pride, and the Templars shook off the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Jerusalem and came into conflict with the secular Church over tithes and other matters. William was writing about fifty years after the founding of the order, and his version of these events has come under scrutiny in recent years, not least by Malcolm Barber in the opening chapter of *The New Knighthood*.<sup>2</sup> We now know that the council of Troyes took place in 1129, and there is a new consensus that would re-date the origins of the Templars to around 1120. But if William's chronology is insecure, his consistent hostility to the order renders him a highly partisan witness. In particular, in his construction of these developments, his emphasis on their poverty and insignificance before 1129 serves to underline his purpose of exposing the wickedness of the Templars' subsequent self-serving pride and arrogance.

This paper is not concerned with what happened in the 1120s, but with how William's story was developed, first by his French translator, and then by later editors and copyists of that translation. Thanks to the labours of Professor Robert Huygens, since 1986 we have had a definitive edition of the Latin text of William's history.<sup>3</sup> There is, however, no modern edition of the French translation.<sup>4</sup> William

1 I thank Dr Helen Nicholson for reading an earlier version of this paper and for her perceptive suggestions.

2 M. Barber, *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 6–10. See also R. Hiestand, 'Kardinalbischof Matthäus von Albano, das Konzil von Troyes und die Entstehung des Templerordens', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 99 (1988), pp. 295–325; A. Luttrell, 'The Earliest Templars', in *Autour de la première croisade*, ed. M. Balard (Paris, 1996), pp. 193–202; H. Nicholson, *The Knights Templar: A New History* (Stroud, 2001), pp. 23–32.

3 WT XII.7, at pp. 553–5.

4 There are two nineteenth-century editions: *L'histoire de Frédéric empereur et la conquête de la terre d'Outremer*, RHC Oc. I (1844); *Guillaume de Tyr et ses continuateurs: text français du XIIe siècle*, ed. P. Paris, 2 vols (Paris, 1879–80).

laid down his pen in 1184, having provided his readers with an account of the crusading movement and the Latin principalities in the east down to his own day. Almost immediately afterwards, Saladin's victories destroyed the achievements that William had chronicled. The Third Crusade then failed to regain Jerusalem, and in the decades that followed, there were to be several more crusades preached in western Europe. It was against this background of heightened awareness of Christian failure and the weakness of the Christian position in the Levant that someone translated William's text into French, thereby making it available to a lay audience. Copies of William's Latin text found their way into the libraries of some Benedictine and Cistercian monasteries in England and France, and seven manuscripts have survived, but the French text proved much more popular: 51 complete or substantially complete manuscripts dating from between the mid-thirteenth and the late fifteenth centuries currently exist in public collections. Professor Jaroslav Folda has provided a convenient and up-to-date list, and in this article I identify the manuscripts in accordance with his numbering so that, for example, Folda no. 1 is referred to as F01.<sup>5</sup> These are listed, together with the foliation for XII.7, in an appendix to this paper. Until now, the manuscript tradition has remained unexplored, but my own research (to be published elsewhere) has made significant progress towards establishing a stemma.<sup>6</sup> In part, this paper represents a continuation of that work: never before has anyone produced a critical edition of any part of the translation on the basis of an examination of all the manuscripts.

Much of the interest in the French version of William of Tyre has hitherto concentrated on the continuations, which extended William's narrative from 1184 until well into the thirteenth century, and on the illuminations, some of which have been frequently reproduced in illustrated histories of the crusades. The translation itself has received less attention, even though historians have been aware of significant differences between it and the Latin original. A group of scholars met at the Institute for Advanced Studies of the Hebrew University in 1987 to investigate the relationship between the French and Latin texts, and their report cleared up some problems while demonstrating that many still remain.<sup>7</sup> For example, they were unable to assign a date to the translation closer than somewhere between the end of the Fourth Crusade and the year 1234.<sup>8</sup> More recently, Professor Bernard Hamilton, a member of the 1987 group, has published a detailed analysis comparing the texts for the period of Baldwin IV's reign.<sup>9</sup> This is a valuable article which points the way

5 J. Folda, 'Manuscripts of the *History of Outremer* by William of Tyre: A Handlist', *Scriptorium* 27 (1973), pp. 90–95.

6 P.W. Edbury, 'The French Translation of William of Tyre's *Historia*: The Manuscript Tradition', *Crusades* (forthcoming).

7 J.H. Pryor, 'The *Eracles* and William of Tyre: An Interim Report', in *The Horns of Hattin*, ed. B.Z. Kedar (Jerusalem and London, 1992), pp. 270–93.

8 Pryor, 'The *Eracles*', pp. 288–9.

9 B. Hamilton, 'The Old French Translation of William of Tyre as an Historical Source', in *The Experience of Crusading, Volume 2: Defining the Crusader Kingdom*, ed. P.W. Edbury and J. Phillips (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 93–112.

to further investigations into the rest of the work, but it does require a confidence in the printed text of the translation – in this instance, Paulin Paris’s 1879–80 edition – which, sadly, is not fully warranted.

Part of the problem lies in the fact that in the Middle Ages, copyists of vernacular texts were not always scrupulous in reproducing what was in front of them; instead, they would polish the style, modernize the orthography and, from time to time, 'improve' on the information before them. They also made mistakes in copying which then passed into the manuscript tradition, and also, where the readings in their exemplar were self-evidently blundered, they might attempt to make corrections. My earlier research has identified what I believe to be those manuscripts which are closest to the original form of the translation, and so it is now possible to examine how the translator dealt with the Latin text and at the same time see how later redactors modified the text further.

So how did the translator adapt William's Latin? And to what extent did the translation then develop a life of its own? I have been able to consult all but one of the 51 manuscripts.<sup>10</sup> Two others, F30 and F46, are mutilated and lack the chapter in question, and so what follows is based on an examination of 48 manuscripts. I have previously identified a group of seven manuscripts as most closely preserving the text of the translation,<sup>11</sup> and rather than attempt to collate all 48 manuscripts and produce an apparatus that would be confusing and extremely unwieldy, this new edition of the translation of XII.7 utilizes these seven, taking as its base the Paris, BN, ms. fr. 9,081, fols 135v–136r (F05). This manuscript has been dated on art-historical grounds to 1245–48, and was produced in Paris.<sup>12</sup> The other six manuscripts are:

- F02 Paris, BN, ms. fr. 2,627, fol. 80r (N. France: fifteenth century)
- F03 Paris, BN, ms. fr 2,632, fols 85v–86r (Latin East or France: first half of thirteenth century)
- F04 Paris, BN, ms. fr. 2,826, fol. 60r–v (Latin East or France: first half of thirteenth century)
- F38 London, BL, Henry Yates Thompson ms. 12, fol. 69r–v (England: mid-thirteenth century)
- F41 Paris, BN, ms. fr. 67, fols 168v–169r (N. France: second half of thirteenth century)
- F52 Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, ms. 142, fols 104v–105r (Paris: c. 1300 with additions c. 1340).

As it happens, some of these manuscripts are among the earliest to have survived: F05 is the earliest manuscript with illustrations; F38 probably the earliest to contain a version of the continuations. But although F52, and more especially F02, are significantly later, they nevertheless preserve a primitive form of the text. None provides a rubric for this chapter.

10 F66, the fire-damaged Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale, ms. L. II 17.

11 Edbury, 'The French Translation' (forthcoming).

12 For the date, see J. Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land: From the Third Crusade to the Fall of Acre, 1187–1291* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 217, 235–6.

## XII.7

<sup>1</sup> Si come Damedex envoie ses graces la ou lui plest, chevalier preudome qui estoient en la terre d'outremer orent talent et proposement de remanoir a tozjors ou servise Nostre Seigneur et avoir comune vie si come chanoine riglé. <sup>2</sup> En la main au patriarche<sup>13</sup> voerent chaste, obedienece et renoncerent a toute proprieté. <sup>3</sup> Cil qui plus maintindrent ceste chose et le firent endroit aus et les autres amonesterent de fere ce meismes furent dui chevalier: l'uns ot non Hues de Paiens delez Troies; li autres Geufroiz de Saint Omer. <sup>4</sup> Et porce qu'il n'avoient eglise ne certaine meson ou il peussent vivre par els, li rois leur otroia atant com li pleroit un habitacle es meisons del pales que il avoit delez le Temple Nostre Seignor. <sup>5</sup> Li chanoine del Temple leur baillierent a cens une place qu'il avoient delez ce pales por amender leur herberiage et fere les officines qui mestier ont a gent de religion. <sup>6</sup> Li rois<sup>14</sup> et li autre baron, li patriarches et li autre prelat des eglises leur donerent rentes por leur vivre et por leur vestir; l'un firent ces dons a tozjors, li autre a une picce del tens. <sup>7</sup> La premeraine chose que l'en leur encharja et enjoint en pardon de leur pechiez ce fu que il gardassent les chemins par ou li pelerin venoient de robbeurs et de lartons qui granz max i soloient fere. <sup>8</sup> Ceste penitence lor comanderent li patriarches et li autre evesque.

<sup>9</sup> Neuf anz demorerent einssinc en habit des siecle, que il vestoient tex robes come li chevalier et les autres bones genz leur donoient por Dieu. <sup>10</sup> Ou noviesme an ot assamble un concile en France dedenz la cite de Troies. <sup>11</sup> La furent assemble l'arcevesques de Reins<sup>15</sup> et l'arcevesques de Sanz<sup>16</sup> et tuit leur evesque; l'evesque d'Albane<sup>17</sup> meismes i fu qui estoit legaz l'apostole; l'abés de Cisteaus<sup>18</sup> et l'abés de Clerevaus<sup>19</sup> i vindrent et maintes autres genz de religion.<sup>20</sup> <sup>12</sup> La fu establi li ordres et la regle que l'en leur dona por vivre come gent religieuse; leur habiz fu comandez a estre blans par l'autorité l'apostole Honore,<sup>21</sup> qui lors estoit, et par le patriarche de Jherusalem.<sup>22</sup> <sup>13</sup> Cil ordres avoit ja duré .ix. anz si come ge vos ai dit, ne il n'i avoit encores que .ix. freres qui vivoient chascun jor d'autrui aumosnes. <sup>14</sup> Des lors comenca acroistre li nombres des renduz, et leur dona l'en rentes et teneures. <sup>15</sup> Ou tens pape Eugene<sup>23</sup> fu comande que il coussissent en leur chapes et en leur manteaux croiz de dras rouges, porce que il fussent conneu entre les autres genz; ainssinc le firent li chevalier et le meneur frere que l'en claime sergenz. <sup>16</sup> Des lors crurent si leur possessions com vos poez veoir que li ordres del Temple est venuz avant; car porce que il furent herbergie premierement delez le Temple, sunt il encore apele li frere de la chevalerie del Temple. <sup>17</sup> Apoines porroit l'en trover deca mer ne de la terre de crestiens ou cil ordres n'oit aujourdui meisons et freres et granz rentes.

13 Gormond of Picquigny.

14 Baldwin II.

15 Reynald II.

16 Henry Sanglier.

17 Matthew, cardinal bishop of Albano.

18 Stephen Harding.

19 St Bernard.

20 The absence of any mention of the abbot of Pontigny at this point suggests that the translator was not using a Latin text that contained this reference; see WT, p. 554, apparatus.

21 Honorius II.

22 Stephen, named in the Latin text.

23 Eugenius III.

<sup>18</sup> Au commencement se contindrent sagement et en grant humilité selonc ce que il por Dieu avoient lessie le siecle, mes apres, quant les richeces leur vindrent, il sembla qu'il eussent oblie leur proposement et monterent en grant orgueill, si que premierement se soutraintrent au patriarche de Jherusalem et porchacerent vers l'apostole que cil n'eust nul pooir sor els qui au commencement les avoit establiz et fondez des biens meismes des eglise. <sup>19</sup> As autres religions et as eglises qui maintes beles aumosnes leur avoit donees, commercerent il a tolir les dismes et les primices et autres rentes qu'il avoient tenues jusqu'a leur tens; leur voisins troblerent et pledoierent en maintes manieres, si com il font encores.

1. Si come] F03: Se  
Damedex] F02: Damnedieu; F04: Demedex; F03 F38: Damledex; F41 F52: Damedex  
a tozjors ou servise Nostre Seigneur] F52: el servise Nostre Seigneur a tozjors  
riglé] F03: reguler; F38 F52: riulé; F41: reglé
2. a toute] F03: tote
3. Paiens] F03: Paainz  
Geufroiz] F02: Geufray; F03: Jofroix; F04: Giefroiz; F38: Jefroiz; F41: Jeufroiz; F52: Jeffroiz  
Omer: F38: Homer
4. atant] F02 F04: tant
5. chanoine] F05: chenoine  
baillierent] F03: donerent  
une place] F03: une leur place  
leur herberiage] F02: leur herbergage; F05: leur heritage; F52: cel herbegage  
les officines] F02: les offices; F05: leur officines
6. furent ] F03: donerent
7. premeraine] F03 F52: premiere  
max] F02: maulz; F03 F38 F41 F52: maus
9. siecle] F05: sige  
Dieu] F04 F41: De
11. Reins et] F02 F52: Reins; F03: Rainz et; F04: Rains et  
Sanz] F02 F52: Sens; F03: Cenz; F38: Senz  
meismes i fu] F52: i estoit meimes  
Cisteaus] F02: Cisteaux; F03: Citiax; F04: Cisteax; F52: Cistiax  
Clerevaus] F02: Clervaux; F03: Cleirevauz; F04: Clerevax
12. regle] F02 F03: rgle; F38: riule; F52: rieule  
por vivre] F52: a vivre  
blans] F02: plans  
l'auctorité] F04: la victoire  
Honore] F02: Honnourc; F03 F38 F41: Honoire; F04: Honorre  
qui lors] F03 qui adone
13. ai dit] F52: dis
15. il coussissent en ... de dras rouges] F52: il croiz couisent de dras rouges  
chapes et en leur manteaux] F03: mantiaus et en leur chapes
16. herbergie premierement] F04: premierement herberje

chevalerie] F52: fraternité  
17. meisons] F38: meisnies  
18. Dieu] F04 F41: De  
siecle] F05: siegle  
des eglise] F02: de l'eglize; F04: de l'eglise  
19. les dismes] F52: leur dismes  
leur tens] F52 cel tens

A perusal of the apparatus will show that none of the manuscripts differs from any of the others in any major way. Most of the variants seem to reflect no more than the orthographic preferences of the particular scribes, although F52 has a blundered reading at sentence 15. Their consistency is sufficient to indicate that this text is likely to be as close as we can come to the original form of the translation.

In this chapter, as elsewhere throughout the book, the translator veered between a close rendering of the Latin text into French and a paraphrase which no doubt was intended to make it more accessible to his audience. Here, at sentence 5, he found it necessary to explain 'officines' (Latin: 'officinarum') with the phrase 'qui mestier ont a gent de religion', and at sentence 7 he added that the brigands 'granz max (or 'maus') i soloient fere'.<sup>24</sup> In some places, he glossed William's Latin: thus in sentence 5, the French text has the canons of the *Templum Domini* leasing ('baillierent a cens') property to the Templars, whilst according to William, they granted it on certain specified conditions ('certis quibusdam conditionibus concesserunt'); again at sentence 9, where William states that the donors acted 'pro remedii animarum', the translation has 'por Dieu'. In one place, the translator changed the order in which the information is presented, moving the comment in the second part of sentence 16 from its place in the Latin text after sentence 17. There are two instances of the translator adding information that might be of interest to a lay audience: at sentence 3, he rightly stated that Hugh of Paiens was from Troyes, and at sentence 9, he specified that knights were among those who had donated clothing to the members of the order in the early days of its existence. On the other hand, he left out the name of Patriarch Stephen at sentence 12. At sentence 16, he made no attempt to translate the important information: '... ut hodie trecentos plus minusve in conventu habeant equites, albis clavidibus indutos, exceptis aliis fratribus, quorum pene infinitus est numerus', and in the same vein, he failed to continue sentence 17 with a rendering of '... et regiis opulentiis pares hodie dicantur habere copias'.

It is not necessarily true that these omissions mean that the translator was deliberately playing down the Templars' wealth and power. Whilst his attitude to the order appears generally to have paralleled William's, there are nuances in his writing that indicate even greater hostility. The opening phrase of sentence 1 is the translator's, and it is clearly designed to show that he regarded the founding of the order as an act of divine grace. The translator then expands Hugh and Geoffrey's role as the men who encouraged others to join them (sentence 3). This positive enthusiasm for the order at the beginning of the chapter therefore goes beyond William's more matter-of-fact account, and so the attack on the order in the closing sentences comes as more of a surprise. The translator is more strident in his hostility. Unlike William, he links the desire to be free from patriarchal jurisdiction to the Templars' newly acquired wealth, reminding his readers in sentence 18 that the member of the order 'por Dieu avoient lessie le siecle', a statement that is not paralleled in William's text at this point. William had explained that in freeing themselves from patriarchal

24 Other examples are the phrase 'qui lors estoit' at sentence 12, and the phrase 'et leur dona l'en rentes et teneures' at sentence 14.

authority the Templars had turned against their original benefactor, but only the translator links other churchmen with the patriarch whose generosity is ill repaid. Similarly, it is only the translator who records at this point that the Templars turned to the pope to gain their exemptions from the patriarchal jurisdiction, and only the translator who concludes the chapter by noting that the Templars are still even now persisting in assertive and litigious behaviour.

So seemingly playing down the order's wealth and power and expressing enthusiasm for the founders of the order in the opening lines of the chapter should not mislead us. The translator shared William's general outlook, and was prepared to enlarge on his criticisms. It is unfortunate that the present state of our understanding does not allow for a clearer appreciation of when, where and under what circumstances the translation was made, but it would seem that, so far as the translator was concerned, nothing had happened in the interval that had elapsed since William's day to make him want to soften William's onslaught. As an exempt order of the Church, the Templars often found themselves at odds with the secular hierarchy; so are we to conclude on the basis of this one chapter that the lay nobility of the early thirteenth century, the presumed audience for the French translation, was similarly disenchanted with them?

Almost all the other manuscripts fall into one of two groups. On the one hand, there is a group of eight manuscripts copied in Acre in the second half of the thirteenth century (F49, F50, F69, F70, F71, F72, F73, F78), and with these should be associated three others of a rather later date which show a close textual relationship to them (F57, F74, F77); in addition, two fifteenth-century manuscripts (F67, F68) can be proved to have been derived directly or indirectly from one of the Acre manuscripts (F69). Taken together, these manuscripts can therefore be considered as representing an eastern tradition. On the other hand, there is a much larger group of manuscripts which represent a western tradition, and which, both in this chapter and elsewhere in the text, have a substantial number of diagnostic features in common.<sup>25</sup> These manuscripts are listed in the appendix, but it should be noted that within this group, F43, F45, F47, F51 and F53 form a recognizable sub-group, as do F60, F61, F62, F63 and F65; F58 and F64, and F37 and F42. Only F06 was produced in the Latin east – not in Acre, but apparently in Antioch. Apart from the manuscripts employed to establish as near as possible the text of the translation, there are just three others that do not fit into either of these two principal categories: F01 is related textually to F52, whilst F31 and F35 are very similar to each other and have an affinity with F03.

In seeing how these various manuscripts differ from the original translation, it has to be remembered that whereas any additional information must indicate a deliberate decision on the part of a copyist or redactor to alter what was in the text at

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25 In XII.7, they all omit the phrases 'furent dui chevaliers' (sentence 2), 'que il avoit' (sentence 4), 'autre' in the phrase 'autre prelat' (sentence 6), 'encores' (sentence 13), 'de la chevalerie' (sentence 16) and 'as autres religions et as eglises' (sentence 19).

his disposal, and any changes to the text may do so, omissions are more likely to be the result of scribal error, and so are inherently less significant. So if a line, phrase or word has dropped out of the text, there can be no assumption that someone was trying to alter the meaning. Some changes have to be seen as copyists' mistakes: thus 'a cens' in sentence 5 becomes 'a ceus' and hence 'a ceulx' (or similar) in a number of manuscripts (F01, F06, F34, F37, F40, F42, F45, F47, F49, F51, F53, F60, F61, F62, F63, F65). 'First fruits' ('primices' – sentence 19) becomes 'promises' (or similar) throughout almost all the Acre group manuscripts and in the some of the western group, and 'provinces' in F06, F39, F43, F45, F47, F51, F54. Perhaps because this made no sense, it was dropped altogether from the manuscripts that were the ancestors of F37, F42, F60, F61, F62, F63 and F65. Other scribal errors are equally strange: thus 'l'auctorité' of Pope Honorius at sentence 12 becomes 'la victoire' in F04, F06, F32, F39, F40, F43, F54, F48, F51. Perhaps most bizarre is the alteration of a phrase in sentence 18: where the vast majority of manuscripts inform us that the Templars 'porchacerent vers' the pope so that the patriarch should have no jurisdiction over them, two, F61 and F65, assert that they 'chevauchierent vers' him.

But if these changes to the text look like the results of carelessness, other changes could well have been deliberate. For example, at sentence 16 the knighthood ('chevalerie') of the Templars becomes the 'fraternité' of the Templars in F01, F49 and F52. In sentence 2, both F31 and F35 and the unrelated F58 and F64 have the Templars renouncing not 'propriété', but 'prosperité' – was this a scribal slip, or have copyists decided to point up the irony of the Templars' vows in the light of their subsequent wealth and financial dealings? Similarly, it is not altogether clear whether there is any significance behind the alteration of 'herberiage' in sentence 5 ('so as to improve their lodging') to 'pellerinage' ('so as to improve their pilgrimage') in F69, F71, F74 and F78. More suggestive is the statement in sentence 4 that the king gave them 'a habitation from the houses of the *hospital* alongside the Templum Domini', rather than 'from the houses of the palace' (F43, F45, F47, F51, F53). Perhaps a scribe had assumed that the Templars' vocation more closely resembled that of the Hospitallers.<sup>26</sup>

Some of the most interesting changes or additions are to be found in a group of manuscripts from within the Acre group: F57, F70, F72, F73 and F77. For this section of William's narrative (though not elsewhere), they are clearly derived from a common original which itself must have been in existence before c. 1260, the date of the earliest manuscript in this group (F73), and was presumably produced in the Latin east.<sup>27</sup> At sentence 15, where the other manuscripts, speaking of the papal injunction that the Templars should display a red cross on their cloaks, inform

26 For another historical tradition linking the origins of the Templars with the Hospitallers, see Luttrell, 'The Earliest Templars', pp. 196, 198.

27 Further evidence for the affinity of these manuscripts at this point in the narrative is provided by the fact that all five divide 12.9 into two parts; nowhere else in the text do they all share the same division of a chapter – a feature that is to be explained by the propensity of the copyists in the Acre scriptorium to switch exemplars as they worked.

us that '... le firent li chevalier et le meneur frere que l'en clame sergenz', this group states: '... ensi firent li chevalier. Et li meneur frere, que l'en clame sergenz, portassent autres manteaus que ceauz des chevaliers, si qu'il eust division entre les chevaliers et les sergenz' (following the readings of F73). So the distinction between the order's knights and sergeants is made far more explicit. At sentence 18, where the other manuscripts record that the Templars '... se soutrairont au patriarche de Jherusalem et porchacerent vers l'apostole que cil n'eust nul pooir sor els ...', these omit the mention of lobbying the pope and say that they '... porchacerent tant qu'il furent ostes dou poeir dou patriarche de Jerusalem si que il n'ot nul poeir sus eauz'. Earlier, at sentences 4 and 5, these manuscripts omit all mention that the property given the order near the Templum Domini was a royal palace: '... li rois leur otroia atant com li pleroit un habitacle *avec beles maisonz* (or *et une belle maison*)<sup>28</sup> que il avoit delez le Temple Nostre Seignor. Li chanoine del Temple leur baillierent a cens une place qu'il avoient delez *celes maizonz*'. Among other changes, they omit the phrase 'et renoncierent a toute propriete' in sentence 2; at sentence 11, they reduce the phrase '...l'abés de Cisteaus et l'abés de Clerevaus i vindrent et maintes autres genz de religion' to 'et maint autre preudome de religion', and in sentence 12, they leave out the name of the pope. It is difficult to know what significance to attach to these alterations: the extra attention given the distinction between knights and sergeants suggests that the redactor was interested in the order, but the other changes do not seem to reflect on the Templars' standing, although they may imply a lack of interest in Church affairs.

So although particular scribes were prepared to change the wording, no one attempted to soften the criticisms of the Templars, nor for that matter to enlarge upon them. This aspect of the various versions of the chapter appears all the more striking in the light of the fact that at least a dozen of the manuscripts were copied after the suppression of the order. The chapter contains a number of contemporary references: '... they are *still* called the brothers of the knighthood of the Temple. Scarcely can one find this side of the sea nor in the lands of the Christians anywhere that this order does not *today* have houses, brothers and great incomes ... they disturbed and pleaded against their neighbours in many ways, as they *still do*.' All the manuscripts written after the early years of the fourteenth century preserve these statements as if nothing had happened. That includes F44, a fifteenth-century manuscript which alone identifies the abbot of Clairvaux mentioned in sentence 11 as Bernard, and F37, another fifteenth-century manuscript, which alone notes that Troyes is in Champagne. The nearest any of the later manuscripts come to updating the situation is to be found in F37 and the closely related F42, which at sentence 17 reads (following the readings of F42): 'Apeine pourroit on trover deca la mer de la terre de crestiens ...' places where the Templars do not have properties, in place of 'Apoines porroit l'en trover deca mer ne de la terre de crestiens ...'; these two manuscripts thereby suppress the distinction between the long-lost Latin east and

28 'avec beles maisonz' = F57, F73; 'et une belle maison' = F70, F72, F77

western Europe. But it is hardly a convincing demonstration of adapting the text to fit contemporary realities.

What then are we to conclude? Copyists in the fifteenth century were still prepared to adapt the text, but not to the extent that they would take into account the momentous events concerning the Templars' humiliation and suppression. Maybe by then memories of that episode had faded, but it is none the less interesting that not one of the post-1312 manuscripts removed the contemporary allusions or gave any hint of the order's demise. In a sense, this aspect of their treatment of the story fits into a wider pattern discernable in the literature of the later Middle Ages. As Helen Nicholson has shown, in popular perception there was often confusion between the Templars and Hospitallers despite their widely contrasting fortunes.<sup>29</sup> Could it be that the failure of later copyists to alter the text, far from being a matter of simple inertia, was both a cause and a product of that confusion?

## Appendix: The Manuscripts

In his hand-list, Folda, following the lead of the nineteenth-century scholar Paul Riant, listed the manuscripts according to whether they had a continuation, and if so, where it ended.<sup>30</sup> In his list, F01–F06 have no continuation; F30–F51 end in or before 1232; F52–F66 contain the so-called 'Rothelin' continuation ending in 1261, and F67–78 the 'Acre' or 'Noailles' continuation for the period beyond 1232.<sup>31</sup>

### *I: Manuscripts Used Here to Establish the Text of 12.7*

- F02 Paris, BN, ms. fr. 2,627, fol. 80r (N. France: fifteenth century)
- F03 Paris, BN, ms. fr. 2,632, fols 85v–86r (Latin east or France: first half of thirteenth century)
- F04 Paris, BN, ms. fr. 2,826, fol. 60r–v (Latin east or France: first half of thirteenth century)
- F05 Paris, BN, ms. fr. 9,081, fols 135v–136r (Paris: c. 1245–48)
- F38 London, BL, Henry Yates Thompson ms. 12, fol. 69r–v (England: mid-thirteenth century)

29 H.J. Nicholson, *Love, War and the Grail: Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights in Medieval Epic and Romance 1150–1500* (Leiden, 2001), pp. 230–33.

30 Folda, 'Manuscripts'; P. Riant, 'Inventaire sommaire des manuscripts de *l'Eracles*', *Archives de l'Orient latin* 1 (1881), pp. 247–52.

31 F7–F15 are ms. fragments; F16–F29 are not mss of William of Tyre, but of the *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, or of the text known as the *Estoires d'Outremer et de la naissance Saladin*. Four other items in Folda's list have been disregarded: F56 is an abbreviated version of the French William of Tyre; F59 is an eighteenth-century copy of F60; F75 is an eighteenth-century copy of F77, and F76 is an eighteenth-century copy of the continuation as published by the Maurists in 1729.

F41 Paris, BN, ms. fr. 67, fols 168v–169r (N. France: second half of thirteenth century)

F52 Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, ms. 142, fols 104v–105r (Paris: c. 1300 and c. 1340)

*II: Other Manuscripts Associated with Those in Section I*

F01 Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, ms. 93, no foliation (England: late thirteenth century)

F31 Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, ms. 137, fol. 124r–v (Paris: c. 1295–1300)

F35 Épinal, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 45, fol. 96r–v (Paris: c. 1295–1300)

*III: The Acre Manuscripts and Those Associated with Them*

F49 Paris, BN, ms. fr. 9,085, fols 136r–137r (Acre: c. 1277–80)

F50 Paris, BN, ms. fr. 9,086, fols 156r–157r (Acre: c. 1255–60) (= *RHC Oc. 2*, ms. C)

F57 Paris, BN, ms. fr. 2,634, fols 132v–133r (Île de France: first quarter of fourteenth century) (= *RHC Oc. 2*, ms. A)

F67 Amiens, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 483, fol. 92r (Flanders: mid-fifteenth century)

F68 Bern, Bürgerbibliothek, ms. 25, fols 179v–180r (N. France: first half of fifteenth century)

F69 Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 142, fols 119r–120r (Acre: c. 1287)

F70 Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, ms. Plu. LXI. 10, fols 130v–131r (Acre: c. 1290, and Italy: first half of fourteenth century)

F71 St Petersburg, National Library of Russia/Российская Национальная Библиотека (formerly M.E. Saltykov-Schedrin State Public Library), ms. fr. I<sup>o</sup> v. IV.5, fol. 93r–v (Acre: c. 1280)

F72 Lyon, Bibliothèque de la Ville, ms. 828, fols 125v–126r (Acre: c. 1280) (= *RHC Oc. 2*, ms. D)

F73 Paris, BN, ms. fr. 2,628, fols 105v–106r (Acre: late 1250s/early 1260s and late 1270s) (= *RHC Oc. 2*, ms B)

F74 Paris, BN, ms. fr. 2,631, fols 160v–161v (Lombardy: c. 1291–95)

F77 Paris, BN, ms. fr. 9,082, fol. 139r–v (Rome: 1295) (= *RHC Oc. 2*, ms. G)

F78 Paris, BN, ms. fr. 9,084, fols 145v–146r (Acre: c. 1286)

*IV: The Western Tradition*

F06 Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, ms. Pal. lat. 1,963m fols 117v–118r (Antioch: c. 1260–68)

F32 Bern, Bürgerbibliothek, ms. 112, fol. 88r–v (N. France: c. 1270)

F33 Bern, Bürgerbibliothek, ms. 163, fol. 111r-v (N. France: third quarter of thirteenth century)

F34 Besançon, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 856, fol. 92v (N. France: c. 1300)

F36 Geneva, Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire, ms. 85 (Artois: third quarter of fifteenth century)

F37 London, BL, Royal ms. 15. E. I, fols 181v–182r (Flanders: late fifteenth century)

F39 Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms. 5,220, pages 241–2 (N. France: third quarter of thirteenth century)

F40 Paris, Bibliothèque du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Mémoires et Documents 230bis, fol. 82r (S. France: third quarter of thirteenth century)

F42 Paris, BN, ms. fr. 68, fols 168v–169v (Flanders: c. 1450)

F43 Paris, BN, ms. fr. 779, fols 106v–107r (12.7 continues from 12.6 without a break) (N. France: c. 1275)

F44 Paris, BN, ms. fr. 2,629 (Flanders: c. 1460)

F45 Paris, BN, ms. fr. 2,630, fol. 104r–v (N. France: c. 1250–75)

F47 Paris, BN, ms. fr. 2,824, fol. 75r–v (N. France: c. 1300)

F48 Paris, BN, ms. fr. 2,827, fol. 94r–v (N. France: c. 1250–75)

F51 Paris, BN, ms. fr. 24,208, fol. 93v (N. France: c. 1250–75)

F53 Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, ms. 9,045, fol. 133r–v (Flanders: c. 1460)

F54 Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, ms. 9,492–3, fol. 150r–v (splitting the chapter into two) (Paris: c. 1291–95)

F55 Lyon, Bibliothèque de la Ville, ms. Palais des Arts 29, fol. 83r–v (Paris: c. 1295–96) (= *RHC Oc. 2*, ms. E)

F58 Paris, BN, ms. fr. 2,825, fols 107v–108r (Paris: early fourteenth century) (= *RHC Oc. 2*, ms. F)

F60 Paris, BN, ms. fr. 9,083, fol. 114r–v (Ile de France: second quarter of fourteenth century) (= *RHC Oc. 2*, ms. H)

F61 Paris, BN, ms. fr. 22,495, fol. 104r–v (Paris: 1337) (= *RHC Oc. 2*, ms. I)

F62 Paris, BN, ms. fr. 22,496–7, fol. 121r–v (Paris: c. 1350)

F63 Paris, BN, ms. fr. 24,209, fol. 114r (Ile de France: third quarter of fourteenth century) (= *RHC Oc. 2*, ms K)

F64 Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, ms. Reg. Suec. lat. 737, fols 129r–130r (Paris: early fourteenth century)

F65 Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale, ms. L. I. 5, fols 196r–197r (N. France: fifteenth century)

The Arras, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 651 (N. France: early fourteenth century) (F30) and the Paris, BN, ms. fr. 2,754, (N. France: c. 1300) (F46) lack 12.7. I have not seen the Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale, ms. L. II. 17 (Ile de France: first quarter of fourteenth century) (F66). All three belong with the manuscripts listed here in Section IV.

**Postscript**

My colleague, Dr Helen Nicholson, has kindly shown me her transcript of an unpublished translation of the French text of XII.7 and also of XVIII.3–8 (dealing with the origins of the Hospitallers) back into Latin. These two extracts are in the British Library, London, Additional ms. 5,444, fols 242v–248r, itself an eighteenth-century copy of part of the Cotton ms. Otho B III which was destroyed in the Cottonian fire. In the light of the omissions listed in note 25, it is clear that the translator did not employ a manuscript in what I have called here the ‘western tradition’ (Section IV). On the other hand, he does seem to have had a text which read ‘a ceus’ (or similar) in sentence 5 in place of ‘a cens’. An analysis of the readings in XVIII.3–8 would no doubt help further in identifying the closest extant manuscripts of the French text.

## Chapter 13

# The Growth of the Order of the Temple in the Northern Area of the Kingdom of Valencia at the Close of the Thirteenth Century: A Puzzling Development?

Luis García-Guijarro<sup>1</sup>

When James II of Aragon decided in December 1307 to follow suit with the policies of the king of France towards the order of the Temple and took possession of the Templar holdings in the kingdom of Valencia, the number and extent of these estates was not comparable to those of the order in Aragon and Catalonia, though they were by no means negligible.<sup>2</sup> However, the considerable importance of the Templar position in the kingdom, mainly in its northern part, was a recent development: it resulted from exchanges and acquisitions of territories promoted by the order in the course of the preceding thirteen years. In 1294, the castles of Peñíscola, Ares and Cuevas were added as a result of an exchange of districts with the king; and in 1303, the castle of Culla was purchased from the nobleman Guillermo IV of Anglesola. Thus the Temple's significant patrimonial standing in the kingdom of Valencia was not in essence related to donations made in the process of conquering the Muslim areas, which had started decades earlier in the 1230s (see Figs 13.1 and 13.2).

The royal grants of land in Valencia following the Christian occupation of the territory were meagre; and this was directly connected with an overt change in royal policy which gave formal status to the reluctance of the late King Pedro II of Aragon to comply with the generous offer of Ramón Berenguer IV in 1143 to compensate the Temple for its renunciation of the terms of Alfonso I's will.<sup>3</sup> At the siege of Burriana on 9 July 1233, James I confirmed and extended previous Templar privileges, but he explicitly declined to grant the fifth of the lands conquered by the brethren.

1 This paper has greatly benefited from the comments and suggestions of Eugenio Díaz Manteca, head archivist of the Archive of the *Diputación* of Castellón.

2 A. Forey, *The Fall of the Templars in the Crown of Aragon* (Aldershot, 2001), p. 11.

3 A. Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón* (London, 1973), pp. 29–31.

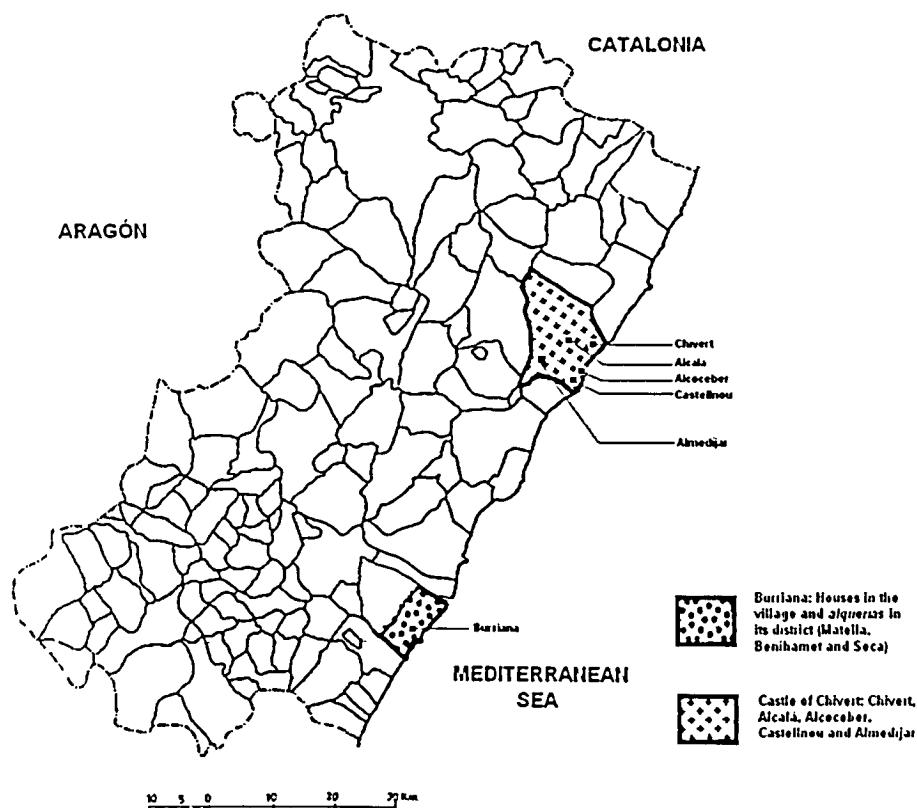


Figure 13.1 Templar districts and possessions in the northern part of the kingdom of Valencia, c. 1250 (modern village limits are shown).

Source: Based on the map by E. Díaz Manteca, 'Notas para el estudio de los antecedentes históricos de Montesa', *Estudis Castellonencs* 2 (1984-85), p. 268. This map could not have been drawn without the help of Elisabeth López Orduna.

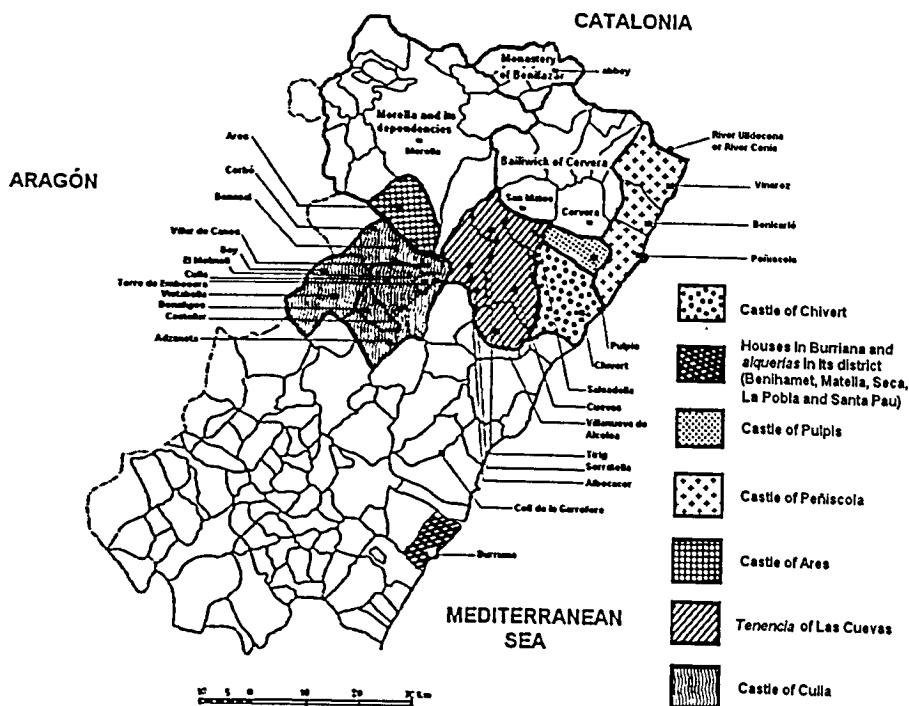


Figure 13.2 Templar districts and possessions in the northern part of the kingdom of Valencia, 1303–1307 (modern village limits are shown).

Source: Based on the map by E. Díaz Manteca, 'Notas para el estudio de los antecedentes históricos de Montesa', *Estudis Castellonencs* 2 (1984-85), p. 277. This map could not have been drawn without the help of Elisabeth López Orduna.

Although it was not openly stated, his exclusion also covered those lands conquered by the king himself, with or without the order's support.<sup>4</sup> Rather than expressing allegiance to the commitments earlier undertaken by Ramón Berenguer IV, James I's grants from this point onward were related to the extent to which the Templars assisted in his campaigns.<sup>5</sup> This became clear in the conquest of Burriana, the first coastal town to be taken by the Christians. Some weeks before the capture of this Muslim strongpoint on 16 July 1233, and again a few days after the conquest, James I gave the Temple the *alquerías* of Benihonet and Matella, and part of the conquered town, including six of its towers.<sup>6</sup> In 1237, he also granted the order the *alquería* of Seca.<sup>7</sup> The reason for these donations was stated clearly in the charter of bestowal to the order of the castle of Chivert on 22 July 1233: 'taking into account the many services that you have offered us in the conquest of Burriana'.<sup>8</sup> In the same way, the support given to the king in the conquest of the city of Valencia was duly rewarded there with a tower, a section of the wall, several houses, an orchard and some land in the vicinity.<sup>9</sup> The donation to the Temple of half of the shipyard at Denia in southern Valencia, just after the siege of Játiva in August 1244, and the grant to the order of the right to build houses on the wall of Burriana, given on 24 October 1244 at the siege of Biar, both suggest that they were the king's response to the military contribution made by the Templars to these campaigns.<sup>10</sup>

Since the second half of the twelfth century, there had been several pre-conquest royal donations to the Temple in the kingdom of Valencia. Not all of them materialized when the localities concerned were actually captured, in part because the king had to take into account past grants of the same places to different individuals

4 'Excipimus tamen et retinemus quintam partem de adquisitione terre sarracenorum, quam domino adiuvante facere poteritis, quamvis prefate domui templi a nostris predecessoribus esset data': Archivo Histórico Nacional (hereafter AHN), Sección de Órdenes Militares (SOM), Pergaminos (Perg.), Montesa, Reales (R) 31 and R 32.

5 See the general view of donations to the Temple by James I in Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, pp. 33–5; E. Díaz Manteca, 'Notas para el estudio de los antecedentes históricos de Montesa', *Estudios Castellonencs* 2 (1984–85), pp. 266–71.

6 AHN, SOM, Perg., Montesa, R 25, R 26, R 27 (17 June 1233); R 37, R 38 (25 July 1233), transcription from the text kept in Archivo de la Corona de Aragón (ACA) by A. Huici Miranda and M.D. Cabanes Pecourt, eds, *Documentos de Jaime I de Aragón*, vol. 1 (Valencia, 1976), no. 185, pp. 317–18.

7 AHN, SOM, Perg., Montesa, R 57, R 58, R 59 (15 August 1237). In the late thirteenth century, the order also possessed in Burriana the *alquerías* of La Pobla and Santa Pau: AHN, SOM, Perg., Montesa, Particulares (P) 465 (2 September 1268) and P 542 (30 July 1298).

8 AHN, SOM, Perg., Montesa, R 32 bis, transcription from the text kept in ACA by Huici Miranda and Cabanes Pecourt, eds, *Documentos*, vol. 1, no. 183, pp. 315–16.

9 AHN, SOM, Perg., Montesa, R 65, R 66, R 67, R 68 (18 October 1238), transcription from a different copy kept in AHN by Huici Miranda and Cabanes Pecourt, eds, *Documentos*, vol. 2 (Valencia, 1976), no. 277, pp. 43–4.

10 ACA, Cancillería Real (CR), Pergaminos (Perg.), Jaime I, no. 960 (17 August 1244), transcription in Huici Miranda and Cabanes Pecourt, eds, *Documentos*, vol. 2, no. 393, p. 181. AHN, SOM, Perg., Montesa, R 78, R 79.

and institutions. In 1211, Pedro II promised Ruzafa to the Temple.<sup>11</sup> James I was reluctant to give away that *alqueria* on the outskirts of the city of Valencia, and on 29 May 1246, the king compensated the order with two other *alquerías* further north: these were Moncada and Carpesa, which had to be hastily purchased from their holders.<sup>12</sup> These two settlements, together with Borbotó, Masarrochos, Benifaraig and Binata, soon formed a compact Templar set of possessions, termed the bailiwick of Moncada. The castle of Pulpis, at the northern part of the kingdom bordering Chivert, had been given by Alfonso II in 1190 to the Templars following a brief occupation by the order.<sup>13</sup> After the final Christian conquest of the region, the order of Calatrava controlled this district, but Templar reclamations, based on their short-lived occupation and on Alfonso II's donation, forced Calatrava to relinquish it in 1277.<sup>14</sup>

The sum total of all these grants amounted to four commanderies and a few scattered rights and possessions elsewhere, for instance some houses and a piece of land located in the village of Liria, north-west of the city of Valencia.<sup>15</sup> This basically comprised the estates of the Templars in Valencia as the thirteenth century drew to a close. The profile they reveal is strikingly weak when compared with the order's strength in Aragon and Catalonia. The reason was that the conquest of the Muslim kingdom of Valencia took place at a time when the golden age of donations of any kind had passed, and when the order's difficult financial situation placed constraints on its ability to compensate by purchasing land or other assets.<sup>16</sup> So the spectacular patrimonial increase that occurred during the 1290s and early 1300s, establishing a Templar belt in northern Valencia that stretched from the Mediterranean Sea to the Aragonese border, remains astonishing. It raises many questions, most of which will remain unresolved, or illuminated only by highly hypothetical answers, since the sources offer no clear responses, and those that they do afford look one-sided and incomplete.

The partition of the city of Tortosa after its conquest in 1148 was the first instance of the application of the terms that had been agreed in 1143 between Ramón Berenguer IV and the master of the Temple. The order was given a fifth of the city's rents, although it secured no rights of intervention in Tortosa's government and

11 ACA, CR, Perg., Jaime I, no. 1,030 (5 November 1211)=AHN, SOM, Perg., Montesa, R 19.

12 AHN, SOM, Libros manuscritos (LM), Montesa, 543 C, fols 1–2, transcription from a different copy kept at the Archivo del Reino de Valencia (ARV) by Huici Miranda and Cabanes Pecourt, eds, *Documentos*, vol. 2, no. 426, pp. 218–20; AHN, SOM, Perg., Montesa, P 101 (29 May 1246).

13 AHN, SOM, Perg., Montesa, R 8, R 9, R 10 (January 1190).

14 AHN, SOM, Perg., Montesa, P 318 (21 January 1271), P 374 (9 March 1277).

15 AHN, SOM, Perg., Montesa, R 92, R 93 (13 October 1248), transcription from a different copy kept in ARV by Huici Miranda and Cabanes Pecourt, eds, *Documentos*, vol 2, no. 479, p. 291.

16 Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, pp. 60–62.

administration.<sup>17</sup> In March 1182, Alfonso II increased the Temple's share by giving it the crown's rights of lordship together with a half of royal revenues. However, this donation was ineffective until well after the death of Queen Sancha in 1208, because the city had been part of her dowry and Pedro II had granted it for life to Guillermo of Cervera after his mother died.<sup>18</sup> The order's profits in Tortosa must have been substantial at the end of the thirteenth century, and the decision in 1294 to exchange them for territories in northern Valencia was probably based on more than economic arguments. The charter of 15 September 1294 which established the exchange of territories between the king and the Temple asserted that the order had experienced difficulties in collecting its rents in Tortosa.<sup>19</sup> The argument that the relationship of the Templars with the city's inhabitants was anything but smooth was also put forward by the sixteenth-century Valencian chronicler Martín de Viciiana: 'the Tortosans were rough people who did not easily let others govern them'.<sup>20</sup> There is surely an element of truth in this, especially when the lengthy disputes that had raged in previous decades between the Temple and Tortosa are taken into account.<sup>21</sup> That said, the order must have had attractive projects in mind to carry out an exchange that was so much in the interests of the monarchy, because it assured the king greater control over an important city. The revenues of the territories gained in northern Valencia were not unimportant, amounting to around 40,000 *solidi* a year if the lease of these rents in 1319 and 1320 are taken into account.<sup>22</sup> But it is difficult to imagine that the order was making a net economic profit out of the exchange. There must have been other reasons. It is surely not accidental that the Temple's efforts to increase its standing in Valencia were concentrated on a specific zone and that the territories given in exchange were contiguous. Moreover, this new centre of Templar power was increased some years later by a purchase which added a particularly

17 *Ibid.*, pp. 24–5.

18 *Ibid.*, pp. 27–8, 29–30. Guillermo of Cervera gave the city to the Temple on 23 March 1215: ACA, Perg., Jaime I, no. 39.

19 '... attendentes per nos seu fratres dicte milicie non posse in civitate Dertuse iurisdictionem et iustitiam ut expedit plenarie exerciri et propterea iura dicte milicie templi diminui et diversi modo deperiri, advertentes perspicaciter melius et utilius fore nobis et dicte milicie iurisdictionem, dominationem et dominium quam et quod dicta milicia habet in dicta civitate et terminis suis in alium transfferri ad utilitatem et comodum dicte milicie quam penes se inutiliter retincri'; AHN, SOM, Perg., Montesa, P 514, P 515, P 516.

20 '... los Tortosines eran gente aspera, y que no se dexavan llanamente governar': M. de Viciiana, *Crónica de la inclita y coronada ciudad de Valencia*, bk III, Valencia, 1564, cd. Sociedad Valenciana de Bibliófilos (Valencia, 1882), p. 142.

21 ACA, CR, Perg., Jaime I, nos 1,796 (19 February 1265), 1,850 (23 June 1266), 2,119 (6 August 1272), 2,137 (16 November 1272).

22 The rents of Ares had been leased jointly in 1318 and 1319 for 13,000 *solidi*, and in 1320 for 7,150 *solidi* (AHN, SOM, LM 871 C, fol. 44), those of Cuevas for 16,150 *solidi* in 1319 and 17,600 *solidi* in 1320 (*ibid.*, fol. 41), and those of Peñíscola for 16,150 *solidi* in 1319 and 17,350 *solidi* in 1320 (*ibid.*, fol. 67). See also L. García-Guijarro Ramos, *Datos para el estudio de la renta feudal maestral de la Orden de Montesa en el siglo XV* (Valencia, 1978), table 2, p. 134.

important piece, the district of Culla, which was placed just west of the strip of territory formed by Peñíscola, Ares and Cuevas.

The Aragonese monarchy was also keen on the Templar project, and its efforts in 1293 to get hold of Ares and Cuevas, which were in the hands of the nobleman Artal of Alagón, great-grandson of Blasco of Alagón, the conqueror of Morella in 1232, were related to it. These territories seem to have been acquired by James II with the goal of adding to the crown's offer and meeting the Temple's requirements, so as to make the whole exchange possible. Neither of the castles concerned had belonged to the king since their conquest from the Muslims. Ares was the first Valencian area to be permanently captured by Christians; it was seized in January 1232 by fighters from Teruel. Five and a half years later, James I gave it to Ladrón, one of the Aragonese nobles who had joined the king in his expedition to Valencia.<sup>23</sup> In January 1246, he was still in control of Ares.<sup>24</sup> Later on, at some unknown date and for reasons which cannot now be established, Blasquiello, Blasco of Alagón's grandson, gained control of the castle and transferred it to his son, Artal of Alagón. On 14 July 1293, King James II reached an agreement with this unruly nobleman, and obtained Ares, plus Arcaine and Oliete in Teruel, in exchange for Pina and Alcubierre, villages east of Zaragoza.<sup>25</sup>

The district of Cuevas was conquered in the summer of 1233 after the coastal town of Burriana had been taken.<sup>26</sup> On 11 May 1235, the *Tenencia* was donated to Blasco of Alagón by the king along with the castle of Culla, in recognition of his seizure of Morella.<sup>27</sup> Blasco's testament, dated around 1240, made no mention of Cuevas, which probably had already been sold to the order of Calatrava.<sup>28</sup> Its brethren had certainly got hold of the district by September 1242, when the order named Ramón of Pegaroles notary of Cuevas;<sup>29</sup> on 24 January 1243, the commander of Alcañiz confirmed the resettlement charter given to the settlers of Albocacer by Blasco of Alagón in 1239.<sup>30</sup> In 1275, Cuevas returned to the Alagón family when Artal of Alagón exchanged Calanda for the *Tenencia*. The interest of Calatrava in the switch of territories seemed evident, because Calanda was near Alcañiz, the order's

23 M.D. Cabanes Pecourt and R. Ferrer Navarro, eds, *Libre del Repartiment del Regne de València*, vol. 2 (Saragossa, 1979), p. 30, entry 24.

24 ACA, CR, Perg., Jaime I, no.1022.

25 AHN, SOM, Perg., Montesa, R 155.

26 A general view of the district of Cuevas in the Middle Ages is provided by E. Díaz Manteca, *Les Covas de l'Inromà: Una vila del Maestrat historic* (Castelló, 2002), pp. 64–133.

27 ACA, CR, Perg., Jaime I, no. 644 =AHN, SOM, Perg., Montesa, R 47, R 48, transcription from a different copy kept in ARV by Huici Miranda and Cabanes Pecourt, eds, *Documentos*, vol. I, no. 220, p. 366.

28 V. García Edo, 'Blasco de Alagón', *Boletín de la Sociedad Castellonense de Cultura (BSCC)* 62 (1986), p. 405. For a transcription of the testament, see *ibid.*, pp. 418–19.

29 ACA, CR, Perg., Jaime I, no. 885.

30 AHN, SOM, LM 542 C, fols 21v–22 (25 January 1239) and fols 43v–44 (24 January 1243).

central convent in north-eastern Iberia. Finally, on 17 July 1293, James II ordered the payment of 135,000 *solidi* to Artal of Alagón for the purchase of Cuevas, which had probably been agreed some days earlier; he also ordered 12,000 *solidi* to be handed to that noble to allow him to get hold of the Moorish quarter of Pina, which was in the hands of Eximen Pérez of Pina. The total amount, 147,000 *solidi*, was to be obtained from the redemption payments for the military contributions due to the king from Daroca, Teruel, Calatayud and other places.<sup>31</sup> It is highly significant that both Ares and Cuevas were purchased by James II within a short period. The project of exchange with the Temple must have been in his mind when these transactions took place.

The history of the district of Peñíscola in the thirteenth century is less clear than that of Ares and Cuevas. An abortive Christian attempt in September 1225 to get hold of this town was followed eight years later by the final surrender of the fortress and the town, and of the dependent *alquerías* of Vinaroz and Benicalró.<sup>32</sup> On 25 June 1249, James I handed the district to Guillermo of Moncada for life.<sup>33</sup> The meaning of this donation 'in beneficium personale' is rather obscure. It might have meant simply control of the revenues and of the castle, for which Guillermo was supposed to appoint *alchaydi*. The grant seems not to have affected the lordship over the area, which was retained by the king, as was shown by the resettlement charter given by James I to Arnau of Cardona and other inhabitants of Peñíscola on 28 January 1250, only seven months after he had sealed the grant to Guillermo of Moncada.<sup>34</sup> One of the town's main assets, the monopoly of the production of salt and of its distribution over a wide area, was never released from the king's hands. On 9 December 1269, the royal representative and the Hospitallers reached an agreement about the compulsory use of the salt of Peñíscola by the brethren and vassals of the castle of Cervera.<sup>35</sup>

The control of the castle by the Moncada family ended in 1275. The king then required Ramón of Moncada to hand over the fortress to royal officials.<sup>36</sup> Some scholars have argued that from that date, Artal of Alagón was given Peñíscola, but there is no proof to support this assumption aside from the intriguing existence of

31 ACA, CR, *Registros* (Reg.) 261, fol. 111–111v.

32 The grants 'in obsidione peniscole' given to the bishop of Tortosa, the monastery of Poblet and the nobleman Rodrigo Jiménez of Luesia showed some of the military contributions that were made to the royal host during the 1225 campaign: Huici Miranda and Cabanes Pecourt, eds, *Documentos*, vol. 1, nos 70 (13 August 1225), 72 (5 September 1225), 62 (21 September 1225; the editors misdated the year of the document; it cannot possibly have been written in 1224), pp. 147–8 and 132–3. F. Soldevila, ed., *Cronica del rei Jaume I*, in *idem, Les Quatre Grans Cròniques*, 2nd edn (Barcelona, 1983), points 182–4, pp. 81–3.

33 ACA, CR, Perg. Jaime I, no. 1,164, transcription in Huici Miranda and Cabanes Pecourt, eds, *Documentos*, vol. 2, no. 496, pp. 306–7.

34 AHN, SOM, LM 542 C, fol. 13v; transcription in Huici Miranda and Cabanes Pecourt, eds, *Documentos*, vol. 2, no. 518, pp. 332–3.

35 AHN, SOM, Perg., Montesa, P 548. Modern archivists have wrongly dated the charter to 1299.

36 ACA, Reg. 20, fol. 273v (22 July 1275).

a stone with the Alagón coat of arms embedded in the fabric of the castle.<sup>37</sup> The concession of the butchers' and fishmongers' tables in the town, made by Pedro III to Pedro Xabedor on 16 April 1284, not only shows that the king was in control of Peñíscola, but also offers additional information about the type of privileges that Guillermo of Moncada had enjoyed there in the period 1250–75. Pedro Xabedor had been given a licence by that nobleman to sell meat and fish. Pedro III argued that he had no right to do so, stating clearly that the inhabitants of Peñíscola had no attachment of lordship other than that to the crown.<sup>38</sup> This text also shows that Artal of Alagón had no jurisdiction over Peñíscola. Besides, if Artal had possessed any rights or possessions in the area of the castle, they would have been mentioned in 1293, and there is no reference whatsoever to the district in the exchange between the Aragonese nobleman and James II that took place in the summer of that year. There is thus no reason to question the assumption that in 1294, the king exchanged with the Temple a castle which had been subject to his lordship without a break since it was conquered in 1233.

The first sign of the exchange of rents and territories between the king and the Temple was the command given on 29 June 1294 by James II to the general bailiff of the kingdom of Valencia to fix the boundaries, along with the Templar commander of Ascó in southern Catalonia, between the castles of Ares, Peñíscola and Cuevas on one side and all the surrounding territories, except those already held by the Temple, that is to say, Chivert, on the other.<sup>39</sup> On 3 August 1294, the bishop of Tortosa appointed the sacristan of the see and an officer to supervise, together with the general bailiff, the fixing of limits between his possessions in Valencia and the *Tenencia* of Cuevas.<sup>40</sup> Some days later, Artal of Alagón, as delegate for his brother, Blasco, who held Villafranca on the border with Aragon, appointed Pedro de Vinatea to set up the precise boundary between that village and Ares.<sup>41</sup> This activity culminated in the drawing up of several charters that described the demarcation of the different lordships with extreme precision.<sup>42</sup> The adjustment, which gave formal sanction to the limits agreed between communities for decades and solved discrepancies, showed how important for the whole area was the new territorial status quo which would be established later in the summer. The fixing of boundaries also aroused

37 A. Canellas López, 'Ocho siglos de historia de Peñíscola en doscientas quince noticias', *Cuadernos de Historia, Instituto de Historia Castillo de Peñíscola*, vol. 1 (Castellón, 1958), pp. 19–20.

38 '... attendentes quod dicta concessio vobis fieri non potuit per dictum nobilem [Guillermum de Montechatano] absque nostri seu nostrorum licencia seu confirmatione': AHN, SOM, Perg., Montesa, R 137.

39 AHN, SOM, Perg., Montesa, inserted in P 510 and P 512.

40 AHN, SOM, Perg., Montesa, inserted in P 512.

41 AHN, SOM, Perg., Montesa, inserted in P 510.

42 AHN, SOM, Perg., Montesa, P 512 (25 August 1294, limits between the district of Cuevas and the villages belonging to the bishop of Tortosa), P 510 (18 September 1294, demarcation between Ares and Villafranca; modern archivists have mistakenly dated the document to 15 August 1294).

protests from neighbouring lords, such as the order of the Hospital, which held the bailiwick of Cervera and argued that the marking stones had invaded its lands, and the Cistercian monastery of Benifazar, which claimed the *alqueria* of Irtà that was located in the area of the castle of Peñíscola and formed an object of dispute between the monks and the Templars.<sup>43</sup>

Such an important territorial transaction between the king and the Temple required the assent of the order's master. On 27 August 1294, James of Molay, who might have been participating in a provincial chapter at Lleida, allowed Berenguer de Cardona, provincial master in Aragon and Catalonia, with the consent of 11 commanders of the province, to exchange the city of Tortosa for 'any castles, towns or any other places which you will find convenient'.<sup>44</sup> There was no mention of the specific districts that the order was about to receive. Since the general bailiff of the kingdom of Valencia and the commander of Ascó, delegates for the king and the order, had been working together for weeks delimiting the boundaries of the regions which would be transferred to the Temple, the ambiguity of the wording of the charter of delegation can only be interpreted in terms of a general power that had been given to the provincial master by the order. This authority to act as representative of the Temple would normally be concentrated on the advanced negotiations relating to Ares, Cuevas and Peñíscola, but it could be applied in addition to any other available option in the event that the existing negotiations failed to reach a successful conclusion. This supposition would support the idea that the Temple was anxious to get rid of Tortosa, and that it was this motive, and not any focused interest in a particular region of northern Valencia, that constituted the chief incentive for the exchange. At a time of general reassessments following the catastrophe in the east in 1291, the order would have tried to make the most of its own possessions in the west, and the fact that Tortosa might have been more of a liability than an asset in economic and seigneurial terms could have led to a territorial reshuffle. This line of argument is quite plausible, but it puts a strong accent on economic advantages which are not so obvious. The rents offered to the Temple by such an important city as Tortosa are not known, but it is likely that they would have surpassed the total amount of around 40,000 *solidi* contributed by Ares, Cuevas and Peñíscola twenty-five years later. I am not arguing against a motive based on finding less troublesome sources of rent, just suggesting that there might have been other, complementary reasons for the changes that took place in a zone that was the backbone of the crown of Aragón and was thus of paramount importance to the crown.

The exchange was sealed by James II and the Templars at Tortosa on 15 September 1294.<sup>45</sup> The order ceded to the king the rights and privileges over the city that had been granted by Ramón Berenguer IV, Alfonso II and Pedro II. These amounted to lordship over the urban area and its district, half of the royal revenues

43 AHN, SOM, Perg., Montesa, P 511 (23 August 1294), P 521 (9 February 1295).

44 '... pro quibuscumque castris, villis seu quibuscumque aliis locis que vobis videbuntur expedire'; AHN, SOM, Perg., Montesa, P 513.

45 AHN, SOM, Perg., Montesa, P 514, P 515, P 516.

(the original fifth of all the rents in Tortosa allotted in 1148 was included in that partition), payments by the Muslims that were assigned to the upkeep of the castle, and the city's baths. All legal actions being pursued by the order, specifically those against co-holders of rights and privileges such as Guillermo of Moncada, were transferred to the crown. The city's inhabitants, whether Christians, Jews or Muslims, were required to swear *fidelitas* and pay homage to the king; once that was done, they would be released from their obligations to the Temple. The order would retain its *hereditates* free from all seigneurial, local or royal payments; a separate charter of 21 September 1294 dealt with the various rights that the institution retained in Tortosa.<sup>46</sup> In exchange, the Temple received, on 15 September, the castles of Ares, Cuevas and Peñíscola, whose demarcations were minutely specified. Cuevas was the most extensive district; apart from the centre of the *Tenencia*, Cuevas, it included the villages of Salsadella, Albocacer, Villanueva, Tirig and Serratella (see Fig. 13.2). The king renounced his claim to any kind of rights and taxes in those areas which were being given to the Temple. The same applied to the castle of Ollers in the Conca de Barberà and in Chivert; in this latter case, the charter referred specifically to the *cenas* which the king, his family and his officials could demand there. On 18 September 1294, James II extended all the existing Templar privileges to the order's new vassals.<sup>47</sup> Six days later, James II commissioned the royal official Esteban of Seta to assign the three Valencian castles to the Temple.<sup>48</sup>

Peñíscola was one of the busiest ports in northern Valencia, and its commerce must have generated significant revenues in the form of dues, which the charter of exchange transferred to the Temple.<sup>49</sup> On 21 September 1294, James II guaranteed freedom of movement of persons and goods in and out of Peñíscola, with the exception of enemies of the crown, and confirmed that the *lezda* (a tax on commerce) would be paid to the order.<sup>50</sup> This charter also reaffirmed the cession to the Temple of the monopoly of salt for a wide region, which the king had enjoyed in Peñíscola for decades and which the document of exchange explicitly mentioned.<sup>51</sup> On 18 September 1294, the king enforced the consumption of salt from Peñíscola on all the residents of the lands stretching from the River Ulldecona, or River Cenia, which was the geographical boundary between Catalonia and Valencia, to the Coll de la Garrosera, a hill that formed the boundary between the village of Borriol and the town of Castellón.<sup>52</sup> The interest of the Temple in the production of this basic commodity was shown by its efforts to control salterns in the area. On 15 October

46 AHN, SOM, Perg., Montesa, inserted in P 929.

47 AHN, SOM, Perg., Montesa, R 159, R 160.

48 AHN, SOM, Perg., Montesa, R 168.

49 '... cum lezdis, pedagiis maris et terre ... cum portu seu portibus maris panischole': AHN, SOM, Perg., Montesa, P 514, P 515, P 516.

50 AHN, SOM, Perg., Montesa, R 163, R 164, R 165, R 166, R 167.

51 '... cum salinis et gabella salis panischole et iuribus eiusdem': AHN, SOM, Perg., Montesa, P 514, P 515, P 516.

52 AHN, SOM, Perg., Montesa, R 161, R 162.

1297, the order purchased from a citizen of Tortosa the right to produce salt in the sea-water ponds of Peñíscola.<sup>53</sup>

James II had renounced any royal impositions that might have been levied in the territories of Ares, Cuevas and Peñíscola. This part of the exchange agreement did not amount to freedom from those dues for the population of the above-mentioned areas, rather it permitted their collection by the Temple. The rights of hospitality enjoyed to date by the king provided a good example. On 24 September 1294, Jaime II instructed his officers and collectors not to demand in the three districts *cenas* or any other royal dues.<sup>54</sup> Several charters which were drawn up in October and November show that the Temple's policy was to group the *cenas* and various other royal rights into a single annual payment. In the first week of October, these instalments were collected in the villages of Villanueva, Albocacer and Salsadella in the district of Cuevas, and in the castle of Ares.<sup>55</sup> On 15 October, a similar arrangement was established for Peñíscola, and on 30 November for the village of Cuevas.<sup>56</sup> This immediate move to garner royal rents, and the general character of these measures, showed how eager the Temple was to profit from the same dues to which it was a major contributor in other parts of the kingdom. For example, some months before these dates, on 3 February 1294, the royal official in Valencia gave a receipt to the chamberlain of the city's Templar establishment for the amount that James II had demanded for the *cenas* which the house had to pay to the king.<sup>57</sup> And on 13 June 1300, James II conceded that he had received from the order a loan of 10,000 *solidi jacquenses*. As a guarantee of its return within a year, he offered the *cenas* that were raised in several Templar commanderies of his kingdoms, Valencia and Burriana among them.<sup>58</sup>

The exchange of territories between James II and the Temple required the formal severing of old links with the king and the establishment of new ones with the order. The homage paid to the Temple by delegates of each village, the ceremonial occupation of every centre of lordship, and the confirmation of the privileges that each of them enjoyed must have taken place immediately. But no reference to these important steps has survived aside from a brief mention of the order's recognition on 12 October 1294 of all the *libertates* of the village of Villanueva.<sup>59</sup>

The addition to the Temple's patrimony in the kingdom of Valencia of the districts of Ares, Peñíscola and Cuevas has to be considered in relation to later developments, above all the purchase of the castle of Culla in 1303. If it is examined by itself, the

53 AHN, SOM, Perg., Montesa, P 534.

54 AHN, SOM, LM 543 C, fols 60v–61.

55 AHN, SOM, LM 542 C, reference in fol. 59 (1 October, Villanueva), fols 63–4 (4 October, Albocacer), reference in fol. 65 (7 October, Salsadella), fols 64–5 (7 October, Ares).

56 AHN, SOM, LM 542 C, fols 61–2 (15 October, Peñíscola), fols 62–63 (30 November, Cuevas).

57 AHN, SOM, Perg., Montesa, P 507.

58 AHN, SOM, Perg., Montesa, R 173, R 174.

59 AHN, SOM, LM 542 C, reference in fol. 59–59v.

exchange of 1294 might be construed as a reaction to Templar difficulties in Tortosa, and to the royal wish to gain fuller control over that city. But the later acquisition of Culla sheds new light on the considerable increase of the Templar patrimony in Valencia in the decade before the dramatic events of 1307. Two aspects made the purchase of Culla remarkable: its geographical setting and its price. The district was the last piece required to complete a belt of Templar territory in the kingdom of Valencia extending from the Mediterranean Sea to the Aragonese border; it must be remembered that no sections of this belt existed before 15 September 1294, so there must have been a link between the exchange that took place on that date and the purchase in 1303. This strip of land cut off the northern section of the kingdom, basically the royal city of Morella and its district, the lands of the Cistercian monastery of Benifazar, and the Hospitaller bailiwick of Cervera, from the rest of Valencia where, as we have seen, the order's standing was weak. Templar interest in closing the territorial gap by purchasing Culla is evident from the exorbitant price it paid for it: 500,000 *solidi*.<sup>60</sup> The district of Culla was only slightly larger and more populous than the *Tenencia* of Cuevas,<sup>61</sup> and at this point it was certainly not richer, as information on the lease of rents for the years 1319 and 1320 shows.<sup>62</sup> When the king bought Cuevas from Artal of Alagón he paid 135,000 *solidi*, roughly eight times the value of the lease of its rents twenty-five years later. The Temple paid for Culla nearly forty times the value of its rents, which were leased at a lower price than those of Cuevas: 13,100 *solidi* for the year 1319, and 14,400 *solidi* for 1320.<sup>63</sup> Guillermo of Anglesola, the lord of Culla, was in severe need of cash,<sup>64</sup> so the overpricing could not have been due to his demands. Rather, it seems that the Temple was anxious to get hold of the castle quickly by presenting an offer which could not be ignored by any nobleman eager to sell. The purchase must have put a severe financial strain on the order, since the short terms of payment, a year and a half, were duly met. With this preliminary information in mind, it is undeniable that

60 '... pro precio videlicet quingentorum milium solidorum monete regalium Valencia vel Barchinone de terno'; AHN, SOM, Perg., Montesa, P 575. Robert I. Burns set the price mistakenly at 50,000 *solidi*: R.I. Burns, *The Crusader Kingdom of Valencia: Reconstruction on a Thirteenth-century Frontier*, vol. I (Cambridge, MA, 1967), p. 192.

61 In 1320, the demographic estimate for the district of Cuevas was 900 hearths, and for the castle of Culla 1,035 hearths; AHN, SOM, LM 871 C, fols 33, 35, 37-9, 41, and fols 46-8, 50-53.

62 These figures are reliable since they come from the survey of the rents and demographic profile of Montesa's possessions which Arnaldo de Soler, the order's second master, compiled on 25 March 1320 to gain accurate knowledge of the new institution's economic basis. A summary of the information on leases is provided by L. García-Guijarro Ramos, *Datos*, table 2, p. 134.

63 AHN, SOM, LM 871 C, fol. 54.

64 '... recognoscentes nos fore tot debitibus et iniuriis obligatos quod bona omnia sedencia que habemus in regno de Valencie ad satisfaccionem et emendam non credimus sufficere predictorum. ... Ad hoc ut possimus debita nostra solvere et iniurias reddere et emendare ... vendimus ...': AHN, SOM, Perg., Montesa, P 575.

Culla was a very special purchase to which the order was prepared to devote a lot of its resources; it was certainly not a bargain into which the Temple was drawn by its knowledge of Guillermo of Anglesola's financial difficulties.<sup>65</sup> As in the case of the exchange of 1294, the official reason which the charter provided – the seller's need for cash – seems insufficient, but there is little firm documentary ground to go much further. The lack of reliable evidence which could provide additional answers has given wings to those writers who use the Temple for their own esoteric purposes. But their exploration of the motives lying behind the acquisition of 1303 has nothing to do with historical understanding.

The suggestion that through the purchase of Culla the Temple was trying to gain a castle which had originally been given to it by the king at the beginning of the thirteenth century is not very convincing; many of the pre-conquest donations to the order had failed to materialize after the territory fell into Christian hands, and there had been no urge on the order's part to possess them afterwards. On 22 May 1213, Pedro II of Aragon offered the Templars the castle of Culla, which was still in Muslim hands.<sup>66</sup> This grant would have become effective when the district was conquered, but instead James I gave Culla to Blasco of Alagón on 11 May 1235.<sup>67</sup> At the latter's death, the castle was assigned on 12 January 1246 to his daughter, Constanza, who was married to Guillermo III of Anglesola.<sup>68</sup> Once her husband had died, Constanza gave Culla to her son, Guillermo IV de Anglesola, on 22 April 1263.<sup>69</sup> Eugenio Díaz Manteca pointed out correctly that this nobleman's possessions in Valencia were far distant from his family household in Upper Urgel.<sup>70</sup> Such remoteness might have been an additional reason to dispose of this castle at a time of financial difficulties.

On 27 March 1303, the charter for the purchase of Culla by the Temple was sealed in Valencia by the master of the Temple in Aragon and Catalonia and its visitor 'in Yspania', and by Guillermo IV of Anglesola, who promised in another document to persuade his son to approve of the transaction, although he cautiously

65 Eugenio Díaz Manteca has argued that the sum of 500,000 *solidi* was not exorbitant but a fair price: 'Notas para el estudio', p. 280; 'La venda del castell de Culla al Temple: un process llarg i difficultós (1303–1388)', in *Imatge de Culla: estudis recollits en el 750é aniversari de la carta de població (1244–1294)*, vol. 2 (Culla, 1994), pp. 457–8. His views are not wholly convincing. Sheep made Culla very prosperous, but that happened in the second half of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and there is no information for earlier periods. If the castle had been prosperous in 1319 and 1320, its rents would have been leased at a much higher price than they were. Comparing the purchase of Culla with that of the town of Castellón de la Plana by the king in 1297 seems to be less relevant than a comparison with James II's acquisition of Cuevas in 1294, and with the figures for the population and rents of that district. This last piece of information is highly reliable because the demographic and rental details for Culla and Cuevas come from the same survey.

66 AHN, SOM, Perg., Montesa R 20, R 21, R 22, R 23.

67 See note 27 above.

68 AHN, SOM, Perg., Montesa, P 94, P 95.

69 AHN, SOM, Perg., Montesa, P 270.

70 Díaz Manteca, 'La venda del castell', p. 453.

refused to pledge any of his own possessions for the assent.<sup>71</sup> The district comprised the main castle, Culla, plus Corbó, Boy or Esbuy, Vistabella, Benafigos, Adzaneta, El Molinell, Torre de Embesora or Torre de Vinrubí, and Benasal, and the rights which the seller had in Villar de Canes and Castellar (see Fig. 13.2). James II acted as guarantor for Guillermo IV of Anglesola, and sealed the document two days later. The active part played by the king in the transaction showed that he favoured the transfer of the district to Templar hands. A month later, on 1 May, slight changes were made to the terms agreed in March.<sup>72</sup> On the same day that the original charter was drawn up, another document specified the due dates for the order's payments: 200,000 *solidi* in July 1303, and 100,000 *solidi* at the following Christmas, Easter 1304 and Michaelmas 1304.<sup>73</sup> Until the payment was completed, the district would be held by Bernardo Senesterra, both in the name of the order and in that of its vendor. The Temple's representative, Arnaldo of Bañuls, the commander of Peñíscola, would take possession of and receive homage from Culla and its villages. But the homage would be temporarily withdrawn while Bernardo Senesterra was in control of the district.<sup>74</sup>

Formal possession by the Temple of the villages of the district of Culla, and the rendering of homage by its inhabitants, took place in May 1303. On 11 May, Raimundo of Besora, the delegate appointed by Guillermo IV of Anglesola some days earlier, handed over the castle of Culla to the Temple, and afterwards the commander of Peñíscola, the order's representative, took possession of the district.<sup>75</sup> Over the following days, the various villages submitted individually to the commander Arnaldo of Bañuls.<sup>76</sup> The new Templar territories could not be ruled by the institution until the payment had been completed. Nevertheless, the form in which the district would in future be administered was decided well in advance. On

71 AHN, SOM, Perg., Montesa, P 575, transcription from a copy kept in the Municipal Archive of Culla by Vicente Segarra: 'Colección de Cartas Pueblas. XXXII. Venta del castillo de Culla al Temple', *BSCC* 12 (1931), pp. 134–8; P 577, transcription by Díaz Manteca, 'La venda del castell', p. 467.

72 One of these changes referred to the village of Torre de Embesora. Because it had been given on 11 January 1269 by Guillermo IV of Anglesola to Guillermo of Besora, the only rights that could be sold to the Temple were those that the donor had retained. This aspect was made clear in the charter of 1 May 1303 which was transcribed by V. Segarra in 'Colección de Cartas Pueblas. XXXIV. Carta aclaratoria de la venta del castillo de Culla a la Orden del Temple', *BSCC* 12 (1931), pp. 246–7.

73 AHN, SOM, Perg., Montesa, P 578.

74 AHN, SOM, Perg., Montesa, P 576, transcription by E. Díaz Manteca, 'La venda del castell', pp. 465–6.

75 AHN, SOM, Perg., Montesa, P 579 (7 May), P 580 (11 May), P 581 (11 May), transcription of this last text by Diaz Manteca, 'La venda del castell', p. 468.

76 The following charters survive: AHN, SOM, Perg., Montesa, P 582 (11 May, Culla), P 583 (12 May, Boy), P 584 (12 May, Vistabella), P 585 (13 May, Benafigos), P 586 (13 May, Adzaneta), transcription of two of these texts by Diaz Manteca, 'La venda del castell', pp. 469–70.

20 February 1304, nine months before the order was given full control over the area, the master, James of Molay, assigned the castle of Culla to Peñíscola on the grounds of assuring the latter's well-being.<sup>77</sup> The centre of gravity of all the districts that the Temple had integrated in 1294 and 1303 seemed to be the coastal area. Culla might have been incorporated in order to create a deeper hinterland which could sustain the castle on the edge of the Mediterranean. Even if that was the case, the motives for building a strong convent in Peñíscola remain unknown. Romantics may be inclined to conjecture that its physical resemblance, albeit on a much smaller scale, to the harbours that had just been lost in the east could have been an incentive, but of course there is no documentary proof of this.

Alan Forey stated that the order had difficulties in meeting the terms of payment agreed in 1303, and that it tried to gain time by taking over some of Guillermo of Anglesola's debts.<sup>78</sup> But documents of 8 and 11 October 1304, which recorded the efforts of the Templar delegate to hand over to the nobleman's *procurator* the last instalment and referred minutely to all previous payments, show no signs of financial problems which might have produced delays.<sup>79</sup> The deadlines of July 1303, Christmas 1303 and Easter 1304 were met in advance, while the final payment of Michaelmas 1304 was ready on that date.<sup>80</sup> Sometimes the order paid sums directly to certain of the Catalan nobleman's creditors as part of the instalments, but it always did so within the established times of payment.<sup>81</sup> It is true that Guillermo of Anglesola ordered that the money should not be received on 29 September, arguing that the clauses signed on 27 March 1303 had not been observed by the Temple.<sup>82</sup> But this disagreement between the two parties must have been a trifling difference on formalities, and not on the payments themselves, because only six weeks later Bernardo Senesterra handed over to the order the castle and district of Culla.<sup>83</sup>

77 'Quia cupimus et continue affectamus quod baiulia nostra de paniscola de bono in melius feliciter augmentetur, ad hoc ut nostri fratres qui ibidem degent possint comode substentari ...': AHN, SOM, Perg., Montesa, P 599, transcription by Díaz Manteca, 'La venda del castell', p. 473.

78 Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, pp. 59–60.

79 AHN, SOM, Perg., Montesa, P 612.

80 AHN, SOM, Perg., Montesa, inserted in P 612 (instalment of July 1303 paid on 18 June), P 594 (instalment of Christmas 1303 paid on 29 November), P 620 (instalment of Easter 1304 paid on 18 February); the last Michaelmas instalment was paid on three separate dates: 16 August (P 605), 31 August (P 606) and 29 September (P 609, P 610).

81 AHN, SOM, Perg., Montesa, P 620 (18 February 1304), P 605, P 606.

82 '... fem vos saber quel honrat mestre del temple ha requests nos que deguessedsem reebre aquella paga quens volia fer e per çó, car el nons vol segeyr ne atorgar les condicions e conveniences qui foren en preses entre nos e el, nos no volem reebre la dita paga': AHN, SOM, Perg., Montesa, P 612.

83 '... cum ... constet nobis dictum magistrum et alios fratres templi complevisse dicto nobili conveniencias seu etiam conditiones in quibus et pro quibus nos [Bernardus Senesterra] tenebamus dicta castra ...': AHN, SOM, Perg., Montesa, P 614.

The Temple probably had to make an effort to pay such an enormous sum, and most likely some of the order's rents, as Alan Forey has suggested, were redirected towards this goal.<sup>84</sup> But the fact that the price was paid within the established time showed not just the order's ability to raise the funds needed, but also the weight of its resolve to incorporate the district of Culla. As I have argued throughout, it is reasonable to deduce that the motives behind this great increase in the Templar patrimony in northern Valencia at the end of the thirteenth century were not solely those that we encounter in the surviving texts. But if the order was nurturing grandiose plans that are concealed from us, and which encompassed Peñíscola, Cuevas and Culla, the events of the autumn and early winter of 1307 put a dramatic end to them.

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84 Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, p. 60.



## Chapter 14

# The Career of a Templar: Peter of St Just

Alan Forey

Most writings on the Templars inevitably fall into the category of ‘institutional history’. Little is known of the individuals who made up the order’s membership. Even grand masters are, in the main, shadowy figures: although something of the character of James of Molay is revealed in the proceedings of the Templar trial, his career before he became master remains ill defined.<sup>1</sup> The lives of lesser brethren are usually even more obscure. Yet more can be discovered about Peter of St Just than about most, even though he did not rise to high office. His name is found not only in estate documents which were copied into Templar cartularies, but also in the Aragonese royal registers; and some fifty letters written by or to him survive in a collection of paper Templar documents in the *Archivo de la Corona de Aragón* in Barcelona.<sup>2</sup> These sources can be used to trace his career as a Templar in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries fairly fully.

Peter is first mentioned at the end of August 1291, when the Templar master Theobald Gaudin gave him permission to return to the Aragonese province from Cyprus.<sup>3</sup> The reason given was bodily infirmity: it was the order’s normal custom to send unfit brothers back to western Europe.<sup>4</sup> Peter had possibly been wounded in one of the last engagements before the final collapse of the crusader states. He was of knightly rank, and it was a common practice for newly recruited knights to serve in the east for a limited period:<sup>5</sup> in 1291, he had probably been a Templar for a comparatively short time, and was still fairly young. This assumption is strengthened by the fact that his name is not found in any earlier Templar documentation from the *Corona de Aragón*.

1 For the fullest and most recent study of James of Molay, see A. Demurger, *Jacques de Molay: Le crépuscule des templiers* (Paris, 2002); on other masters, see M.L. Bulst-Thiele, *Sacrae domus militiae Templi Hierosolymitani magistri. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Templerordens 1118/19–1314* (Göttingen, 1974). The difficulty of writing biographies of Templars is apparent in both of these works.

2 Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón (henceforth ACA), Cancillería Real, Cartas Reales Diplomáticas, Jaime II, cajas 137–42 (Templarios) (henceforth CRDT).

3 A.J. Forey, ‘Letters of the Last Two Templar Masters’, *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 45 (2001), p. 160 doc. 1.

4 H. de Curzon, ed., *La règle du Temple* (Paris, 1886), p. 83 art. 93.

5 A.J. Forey, ‘Towards a Profile of the Templars in the Early Fourteenth Century’, in *The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, ed. M. Barber (Aldershot, 1994), pp. 200–201.

Four Templars bearing the name St Just are known in the Aragonese province in the later years of the order's history, and it has been tentatively suggested that they came from Roussillon.<sup>6</sup> Although the knight Raymond of St Just – probably a relation of Peter – resided in the convent of Mas-Déu in Roussillon in the mid-1290s,<sup>7</sup> there is little else to link these Templars with that district. There are several places called Sant Just in Catalonia; William of St Just was received into the order at Gardeny, near Lérida, shortly before proceedings against the Templars began,<sup>8</sup> and during the subsequent siege of the Templar castle of Miravet, where Peter's brother, Berenguer, was commander, there was a request from knights in the Penedés district of Catalonia that certain laymen assisting in the defence of the stronghold, including Arnold of St Just and Bernard of St Just – no doubt relations of Berenguer and Peter – should be allowed to leave Miravet freely.<sup>9</sup>

Berenguer of St Just was commander of Miravet from 1297 until 1307, and presumably he is to be identified with the Templar of that name who was Aragonese provincial master from 1283 until 1290 and 'commandeur de la terre' in Cyprus in 1292.<sup>10</sup> Peter, like many other Templars,<sup>11</sup> may therefore have been influenced in his decision to enter the Temple by existing family links with the order.

In the years between Peter's return to the west and the beginning of proceedings against the order, he had charge of a series of Templar convents in the Aragonese and Mallorcan kingdoms. His exact terms of office are not recorded, but he is known to have held Villel from June 1292 until early in 1294; as few knights became commanders in the Aragonese province before the age of 30,<sup>12</sup> he was probably at least in his later twenties by then. He was commander of Grañena from the summer of 1295 until January 1296, and of Zaragoza from July 1296 until June 1297, and Corbins was in his charge from April 1299 until April or May of the following year. From July 1300 until early 1303, he was head of the convent of Mallorca. He was at Ambel in April 1303, and at Alsfambra from September 1304 until September 1307,

6 B. Alart, 'Suppression de l'ordre du Temple en Roussillon', *Bulletin de la Société agricole, scientifique et littéraire des Pyrénées-Orientales* 15 (1867), p. 102.

7 J. Michelet, ed., *Procès des Templiers*, 2 vols (Paris, 1841–51), 2.445–6.

8 Barcelona, Archivo Capitular, codex 149 fol. 42v.

9 ACA, CRDT 394; cf. ACA, Cancilleria real, Registro (henceforth R.) 291 fol. 144v.

10 A.J. Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón* (London, 1973), p. 406 doc. 36. Peter's brother died in 1319 or 1320: J. Miret y Sans, *Les cases de Templers y Hospitalers en Catalunya* (Barcelona, 1910), pp. 390–95; ACA, R. 170 fol. 143. His identification with the former provincial master would mean that he survived for over thirty-five years after becoming provincial master; but this is quite possible.

11 A.J. Forey, 'Recruitment to the Military Orders (Twelfth to Mid-Fourteenth Centuries)', *Viator* 17 (1986), p. 170.

12 A.J. Forey, 'Templar Knights and Sergeants in the Corona de Aragón at the Turn of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries', in *As ordens militares e as ordens de cavalaria na construção do mundo ocidental. Actas do IV Encontro sobre ordens militares*, ed. I.C.F. Fernandes (Palmela, 2005), pp. 638–9.

when he was appointed to Peñíscola, on the Valencia coast.<sup>13</sup> Peter was not unusual in being commander in numerous places: short periods of office were the norm, and possibly helped to reduce the likelihood of tension within a house and to emphasize that offices were a responsibility rather than a reward.<sup>14</sup>

As commander of a convent, Peter performed various functions. At the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the Aragonese Templars still had a military role, even though the Aragonese reconquest was complete and fighting was restricted to frontier defence and raiding, and even though at times they were reluctant to serve. Early in September 1304, when an invasion from Granada was threatened, Peter – then commander of Alfambra – was summoned by the provincial master, Berenguer of Cardona, to be at Murviedro on 21 September, although he was allowed to return to his commandery in the later part of October when the danger had passed.<sup>15</sup> He was also involved in diplomacy, for in 1295 he was instructed by Berenguer of Cardona to participate in discussions relating to Sicily.<sup>16</sup>

Most of his time, however, was spent in administering the properties of his convent. By the late thirteenth century, the order was no longer making numerous acquisitions through donation or purchase, but at Villel in 1294, Peter – like some other commanders at this time – did buy back some land held by tenants.<sup>17</sup> The leasing of holdings was an inevitable part of a commander's work, and some revenues were also farmed,<sup>18</sup> but bulls issued by Boniface VIII about earlier harmful grants at farm or rent appear to have led to a temporary embargo on leasing while Peter was commander of Mallorca. When the king wanted some land settled, Peter said that he did not have the authority; the matter was placed before Berenguer of Cardona, but he replied that he could not give permission and that the issue was being referred to James of Molay.<sup>19</sup> Peter's other administrative activities in Mallorca included the granting of licences to build mills<sup>20</sup> and the nomination of guardians for orphaned children on the order's estates.<sup>21</sup>

13 In the summer of 1294, he was commander of Torres de Segre, but this was apparently a dependency of Miravet; and in 1297 he acted as lieutenant for the commander of Miravet. The lists of commanders given in Forey, *Templars*, pp. 422–45, require revision.

14 *Ibid.*, p. 266.

15 ACA, CRDT 383, 419. On dating, see Forey, *Templars*, p. 157 n. 245.

16 ACA, CRDT 52, 176.

17 Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional (henceforth AHN), Sección de Códices, cód. 648B (466), p. 272 doc. 298; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 273–4, 331–2 docs 300–301, 379; Forey, *Templars*, pp. 237–8.

18 See, for example, a lease by Peter at Villel in 1292: AHN, cód. 648B (466), pp. 270–71 doc. 295. For farming by Peter, see ACA, Varia 5 fol. 78; A.M. Rodriguez Carreño, *El territori de Pollença sota l'orde del Temple (1298–1304)* (Pollença, 2000), p. 278 doc. 15.

19 ACA, CRDT 355, 630.

20 Rodriguez Carreño, *Pollença*, pp. 141, 196, 200, 279–80 doc. 17.

21 *Ibid.*, pp. 189, 192, 194, 195, 200.

A considerable amount of time was also spent both in settling disputes about property rights, as Peter found himself doing at Villel in 1293,<sup>22</sup> and in defending the order's privileges and immunities. Quarrels over these arose in various ways. The issuing of generally worded royal instructions – taking no account of Templar exemptions – about the exaction of 'primicias' led to Peter's protesting about the actions of royal officials when he was commander of Villel in 1293.<sup>23</sup> The publication of 'Clericis laicos' by Boniface VIII occasioned arguments about the order's liability for *cena* to the king when Peter was commander of Zaragoza in 1297.<sup>24</sup> But protests were also occasioned by the royal policy in the later thirteenth century of restricting exemptions and privileges enjoyed by the Temple. When Peter was acting commander of Miravet, the provincial master wrote to him of the endeavours being made, no doubt under royal pressure, to exact from the order the tenth granted by the pope to James II.<sup>25</sup> In 1301, Peter was further complaining to the king of Mallorca about attempts by the latter's officials to exercise appeal jurisdiction over Templar vassals and about the king's nominating a bailiff in Pollença.<sup>26</sup>

Surviving sources reveal little about conventional life in the places where Peter was commander. Among the small group of brothers who comprised a convent, Peter at times had a knight as his *socius*: at Ambel in 1303, this was Raymond of St Just.<sup>27</sup> The brothers in Peter's convents presumably assembled in a weekly chapter, as decreed in the Templar Customs.<sup>28</sup> It was at chapters that new brothers were received, although at this time the provincial master's approval was required – an indication that there was no shortage of applicants. In one letter, Berenguer of Cardona gave his assent to Peter's wish to admit a certain individual at Corbins, and when Peter was in Mallorca, he similarly received permission to admit recruits, provided they would be 'profitable' to the order.<sup>29</sup> But some brothers proved troublesome, and it became advisable to move them: thus in October 1300, the acting provincial master wrote to Peter in Mallorca about transferring to Corbins a brother whom Peter did not want.<sup>30</sup> In Mallorca, Peter also encountered the problem of apostasy, which in the Temple, as in other orders, was not uncommon: he reported the flight of R. Royg, and the master's lieutenant promised to seek to apprehend the fugitive.<sup>31</sup> Besides presiding over a small community of brothers, a commander was obliged to provide hospitality for the provincial master as he travelled around the province: one letter, for example,

22 AHN, cód. 648B (466), p. 271 doc. 296.

23 Ibid., p. 64 doc. 63.

24 H. Finke, ed., *Acta Aragonensis*, 3 vols (Berlin, 1908–22), 1.34–5 doc. 27; cf. ACA, Cancillería real, Pergaminos, Jaime II 834.

25 ACA, CRDT 198; cf. Forey, *Templars*, pp. 175–6.

26 ACA, CRDT 151–3; Rodriguez Carreño, *Pollença*, pp. 20, 277–8 doc. 13.

27 AHN, cód. 651B (469), pp. 501–2 doc. 507. This Templar had also been with Peter in Mallorca: Rodriguez Carreño, *Pollença*, pp. 191, 196, 198, 200, 279–80 doc. 17.

28 De Curzon, ed., *Règle du Temple*, p. 215 art. 385.

29 ACA, CRDT 285, 400.

30 ACA, CRD Jaime II 1,177.

31 ACA, CRDT 560, 563.

sent on a Saturday from Grañena, informed Peter that Berenguer of Cardona was intending to dine at Peter's convent of Corbins on the following Tuesday.<sup>32</sup> There was further contact with the master when the latter summoned several commanders to give advice on a particular issue: this practice appears to have become formalized, for in one letter the provincial master informed Peter that 'the council is being recalled to Miravet for a very important matter'.<sup>33</sup> Commanders were, of course, also obliged to attend the annual provincial chapter. Summonses survive from Peter's periods of office at Grañena, Corbins and Mallorca.<sup>34</sup> In these, he was instructed to bring his responson and other dues and also any further contribution he could make, and was given permission to sell corn and other goods in order to make payments to the provincial master in cash. He was also obliged to bring a statement (*albara*) of the movable goods in his convent. That drawn up by Peter in 1299 at Corbins survives, and it includes details of slaves, livestock, foodstuffs, chapel goods, furniture and bedding, household implements, weapons and armour.<sup>35</sup> The summonses provide no indication of matters discussed at provincial chapters, and these can only be gleaned from the few surviving documents issued during chapters. But chapters were certainly not the only occasions when commanders were expected to provide financial contributions. Additional payments were sometimes required for provincial expenses: in 1301, when Berenguer of Cardona was returning from the east, he asked Peter for assistance in paying his travelling expenses,<sup>36</sup> and in August 1304, Berenguer requested money for an instalment of the sum owed for the purchase of the castle of Culla.<sup>37</sup> After the Temple had lost its holdings in the Holy Land and became largely dependent on assistance from the west, extra money was also needed for its headquarters in Cyprus. In April 1300, when he was preparing to go to Cyprus, Berenguer of Cardona wrote to Peter at Corbins, asking him to provide all the money and goods he could so that the provincial master could take supplies to the east.<sup>38</sup>

It is hardly surprising that Peter was not always able to meet the financial demands made of him, especially as Templar resources were being reduced by royal encroachments on privileges, and tenants were commonly defaulting on their obligations: there is a list, compiled by Peter, of rent arrears at Corbins in 1300.<sup>39</sup>

32 ACA, CRDT 643.

33 ACA, CRDT 173; see also CRDT 176.

34 ACA, CRDT 185, 249, 403, 507; Forey, *Templars*, p. 413 doc. 43. In 1301, when the provincial master was in the east, no chapter was held, and Peter was required, as commander of Mallorca, merely to bring money: ACA, CRDT 566.

35 J. Miret y Sans, 'Inventaris de les cases del Temple de la Corona d'Aragó en 1289', *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 6 (1911), pp. 70-72.

36 ACA, CRDT 181, 646.

37 ACA, CRDT 372; cf. CRDT 290. As in the other instances in this essay when a date is preceded by a question mark, this letter is undated but there is a strong probability that it was written in the year given.

38 Fink, ed., *Acta Aragonensis*, 1.78-9 doc. 55; cf. ACA, CRDT 68.

39 ACA, CRD Jaime II 1,183; cf. Forey, *Templars*, p. 223.

Yet he was sternly rebuked by the provincial master. When Peter was commander of Ambel, Berenguer of Cardona expressed his 'great displeasure' when the responson and other dues were not fully paid on time.<sup>40</sup> It was apparently later reported to James of Molay that in his various posts, Peter had provided inadequate aid to the provincial master and to the order in the east.<sup>41</sup> It is therefore surprising that in March 1306 Berenguer of Cardona granted him the commandery of Alfambra for life. This was an unusual step, and to implement it Berenguer had to rely on his authority as 'general visitor in Spain': his powers as provincial master were not sufficient.<sup>42</sup>

The explanation possibly lies partly in the closeness of Peter's links with the order's headquarters in Cyprus. When he returned to Spain in 1291, he was given permission by Theobald Gaudin to return to the east whenever he wished. Such licences were presumably intended to provide brothers with opportunities to further their own interests at the order's headquarters.<sup>43</sup> Peter did not quickly avail himself of this concession, but he was careful to maintain contact with the next master, James of Molay, whom he had no doubt encountered in the east. He not only met the master in 1294 when the latter was in Lérida during a visit to the west,<sup>44</sup> but also exchanged letters with him. Early in 1296, James appealed to Peter for help in defraying the expenses of his return to Cyprus;<sup>45</sup> in ?1299, the master replied to a letter from Peter about the Templar Dalmacio of Rocaberti, who was in Muslim captivity, and in November ?1300, he was acknowledging further letters from Peter.<sup>46</sup> After the criticisms made of his financial management, Peter wrote again to the master in August ?1305, anxiously seeking to exonerate and ingratiate himself: he regretted that he had not contributed as much as some of his predecessors, and claimed that he had provided notable aid: some impression of Peter's character is conveyed by the obsequious wording and the attempt at self-justification. He asked permission to cross to Cyprus and be in the Convent.<sup>47</sup> James of Molay summoned him to the Convent in the next passage, but in January 1306 he decided to leave the journey to Peter's discretion.<sup>48</sup> Peter did travel to Cyprus in the summer of 1306, although he returned to Aragon in the autumn.<sup>49</sup> He presumably took this opportunity to lobby the master on his own behalf, for in 1307, when James of Molay appointed Peter as commander of Peñíscola – the office of provincial master was then vacant – he said

40 ACA, CRDT 537.

41 ACA, CRDT 363.

42 Forey, *Templars*, pp. 414–15 doc. 44.

43 Forey, 'Letters', pp. 160–61 docs 2–3. For another example, see *ibid.*, p. 164 doc. 9.

44 *Ibid.*, pp. 161–2 doc. 4; L. Pagarolàs i Sabaté, *Els Templers de les terres de l'Ebre (Tortosa): De Jaume I fins a l'abolició de l'orde (1213–1312)*, 2 vols (Tarragona, 1999), 2.197–8 doc. 171.

45 Fink, ed., *Acta Aragonensis*, 3.31–2 doc. 18. On the date, see Demurger, *Jacques de Molay*, p. 121.

46 Forey, 'Letters', pp. 162–3 docs 5–6.

47 ACA, CRDT 363.

48 Forey, 'Letters', p. 164 doc. 10.

49 ACA, CRDT 334; Forey, 'Letters', p. 166 doc. 13.

that Peter had offered to double the responsion.<sup>50</sup> Peter obviously remained on close terms with James of Molay, and sought his favour when criticized by the provincial master. The latter had himself incurred the master's displeasure for ignoring James of Molay's wishes about appointments in the province.<sup>51</sup> It may further be noted that when James of Molay was planning to visit Aragon in 1307, Peter wrote that his coming would be beneficial to the order and would improve the state of the province: the wording suggests that he did not have a very favourable opinion of the provincial master.<sup>52</sup> The grant of Alfambra for life to Peter may therefore represent an attempt by the provincial master to secure his support in a triangular relationship with James of Molay. It is to be noted that when nominating Peter to Alfambra, Berenguer stressed that 'in all things throughout your life you are to be obedient to the preceptor of Aragon'.<sup>53</sup>

As commander of Peñíscola in 1307, Peter no doubt expected to continue the way of life to which he had become accustomed. Yet shortly after his appointment, reports reached Spain of the arrest of the French Templars by Philip IV. The Aragonese brothers were apprehensive about what James II would do. On 24 October 1307, the provincial master, Simon de Lenda, instructed Peter to come immediately to a meeting at Miravet, travelling by day and night and leaving his castle well guarded in his absence.<sup>54</sup> What was discussed is unknown, but on 9 November the master reported to Peter on a meeting with the king at which James stated that he had no reason to suspect the Templars in his realms, but that he felt that the French king must have had good reason for acting: James planned to consult his council. Simon nevertheless reminded Peter of the need to prepare castles for defence, and his letter bore the instruction that it should be carried from house to house by night and day.<sup>55</sup> In a letter to Peter written on the following day, the commander of Cantavieja also informed Peter of the meeting with James II, and added that the king had received no order to act from the pope.<sup>56</sup> Peter's brother, Berenguer, again stressed the need to prepare castles in a communication sent on 11 November.<sup>57</sup> But Peter of St Just was receiving more disturbing news from other correspondents. An undated letter included a report that the pope had told James to arrest the Aragonese Templars, that the host had been summoned, and that its destination might be Peñíscola.<sup>58</sup> On 11 November, the commander of Monzón wrote that he had heard that the king was journeying towards Valencia and was planning first to besiege Peñíscola because of

50 Ibid., pp. 168–70 doc. 17.

51 Ibid.

52 H. Finke, ed., *Papsitum und Untergang des Templerordens*, 2 vols (Münster, 1907), 2.37 doc. 24. James of Molay also hinted at divisions within the province when he appointed a new provincial master in 1307: Forey, 'Letters', pp. 168–70 doc. 17.

53 Forey, *Templars*, pp. 414–15 doc. 44.

54 ACA, CRDT 439; see also CRDT 173.

55 Finke, ed., *Papsitum*, 2.52–3 doc. 35.

56 Ibid., 2.53–4 doc. 35.

57 ACA, CRDT 180.

58 Finke, ed., *Papsitum*, 2.55 doc. 36.

its important situation on the coast.<sup>59</sup> Reassurance came from the provincial master in a letter sent to Peter on 16 November. He thought that troops were not being summoned against the Templars, and he instructed Peter not to prohibit merchants from trading at Peñíscola, but to ensure that castles were guarded.<sup>60</sup> Measures were clearly taken to prepare castles in the commandery of Peñíscola. In an undated letter, presumably from Peter of St Just, brothers at the castles of Culla and Ares, which were subject to Peñíscola, were told to prepare defences; and there were later claims that Michael of Ambel, Peter's representative in Ares, had seized corn for provisioning the castle.<sup>61</sup>

Yet the preparations were inadequate. James II was in Valencia when he issued instructions for the arrest of the Templars at the beginning of December,<sup>62</sup> after hearing of Templar confessions in France, and it was in the kingdom of Valencia – where brothers had least warning – that strongholds fell rapidly, whereas elsewhere some held out against the king for a year or more.<sup>63</sup> Bernard of Llibiá, acting for the king in northern Valencia, reported on 6 December that the castle of Chivert, in the commandery of Peñíscola, had been abandoned by the Templars, and that Ares and Culla were each occupied by only two brothers.<sup>64</sup> He announced his intention of proceeding to Peñíscola, and although James had instructed that castles should not be stormed and that Bernard should not take a large force,<sup>65</sup> the castle there was in royal hands by 12 December. Peter of St Just was apprehended when seeking to escape by boat.<sup>66</sup> Whether he was merely trying to flee or whether he was attempting to join colleagues defending castles elsewhere is unknown.

James ordered that he should be brought under guard to Valencia, where Templars captured at an early stage were detained in the order's convent in the city.<sup>67</sup> He appears to have lived there until the end of the trial,<sup>68</sup> and was in custody for five years. The Templars in Aragonese lands were interrogated in the closing months of 1309 and the early part of 1310.<sup>69</sup> No records survive of the Valencian interrogations<sup>70</sup>

59 Ibid., 2.54–5 doc. 36.

60 Ibid., 2.55 doc. 36. This last point was repeated in further correspondence from the commanders of Miravet and Cantavieja: *ibid.*, 2.62–3 doc. 41; ACA, CRDT 441.

61 ACA, CRDT 528; R. 141 fol. 217v; R. 237 fol. 9v.

62 ACA, R. 291 fols 37–38v.

63 On sieges in Aragon and Catalonia, see A.J. Forey, *The Fall of the Templars in the Crown of Aragon* (Aldershot, 2001), ch. 2.

64 ACA, CRDT 448.

65 ACA, R. 291 fols 38v, 112.

66 Finke, ed., *Papsttum*, 2.228–9 doc. 124.

67 ACA, CRDT 452; R. 291 fol. 39v.

68 He was not among the Templars who accompanied the provincial master when the latter was transferred from Valencia to Horta for the sake of his health: ACA, CRD Jaime II 4,157.

69 Forey, *Fall of the Templars*, pp. 76–80.

70 It is known that several Templars had been questioned there by April 1310: ACA, R. 291 fol. 271–271v.

— these would have provided information about Peter's age and length of service — but it is clear that all Aragonese Templars denied the main charges. The brothers at Valencia, like those held elsewhere in the *Corona de Aragón*, were summoned to a provincial council at Tarragona in March 1311,<sup>71</sup> but no decisions were then taken, and in August Clement V — dissatisfied with the responses of the Aragonese Templars — ordered that they should be tortured. For this purpose, James II commanded at the end of September 1311 that the Templars at Valencia should be dispatched to Lérida, although they had still not been sent at the beginning of December<sup>72</sup> and it is not clear whether Peter was in fact among those tortured: those known to have been subjected to torture continued to maintain their innocence.<sup>73</sup>

Unlike colleagues who later surrendered on terms, Templars held in Valencia — in November 1308 they numbered 24<sup>74</sup> — were not able to negotiate about the conditions of their custody; but although, like brothers held elsewhere, they were not allowed to attend church services, they were not treated harshly. They were allowed mutton on three days a week, and on other days received eggs and either cheese or fish; they were also given 2 pence for supper on the days when they had meat, and in October 1308, James allowed them an additional 10 shillings of Valencia a week to buy hens.<sup>75</sup> Besides a cook, they were given the services of two women for carrying water and other tasks, and although they were deprived of their own esquires, guards were to act as *scutiferi* for brothers who normally had them.<sup>76</sup> The Templars in Valencia were not at first chained, although, because they were residing in a city, they were not permitted to exercise outside their buildings as brothers held in more rural locations were allowed to do.<sup>77</sup>

The treatment which the king envisaged was, however, affected by various factors. In July 1310, the Templars were — on the initiative of the inquisitors — put in chains. In the following month, the king allowed 20 brothers, whose friends or relations were prepared to put up money as surety for them, to be unshackled. Peter was not, however, among those freed from chains at this point, and like many colleagues, he remained in chains until October.<sup>78</sup> All Templars were chained again when the pope ordered torture to be used.<sup>79</sup> The provisioning of brothers in custody was affected by shortage of money. In November 1308, Bernard of Esplugues, who had charge of the brothers detained in Valencia, was complaining that the revenues at his disposal were not sufficient to maintain the Templars and their guards.<sup>80</sup> To provide adequate funds

71 *Ibid.*, fols 293v–294, 296v.

72 *Ibid.*, fols 309, 309v, 311, 312, 313v, 314–314v.

73 A. Mercati, 'Interrogatorio di Templari a Barcellona (1311)', *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens* 6 (1937), pp. 240–51.

74 ACA, CRDT 440.

75 ACA, R. 291 fols 43v–44, 136.

76 *Ibid.*, fol. 136.

77 Forey, *Fall of the Templars*, pp. 92–3.

78 ACA, R. 291 fols 282–284v.

79 *Ibid.*, fol. 305v.

80 ACA, CRDT 440.

in Valencia, orders were given to sell Templar movables and to farm out revenues,<sup>81</sup> but in April 1310 the Templars there were complaining that they were not receiving adequate food or clothing.<sup>82</sup> Problems arose not only because the king was using Templar revenues for his own purposes,<sup>83</sup> but also through administrative failings: an inquiry revealed numerous shortcomings by Valencian officials.<sup>84</sup>

The Templars' period of custody was brought to an end in November 1312, when a provincial council at Tarragona decreed that brothers should live at places that had formerly been under Templar lordship and should receive pensions, together with garden produce and wood. Peter and three other Templars were to reside at Gandesa, in the commandery of Miravet on the lower Ebro. There they were to have accommodation in the castle, comprising a room, a hall, a kitchen and stabling for animals.<sup>85</sup> Peter, like other brothers, soon had most of his military equipment returned, and he also received a special concession from the king of bedding which had belonged to the Temple.<sup>86</sup> Brothers were to be subject to the diocesan, and still bound by their vows. Yet until late 1317, Templar property remained under royal control, and brethren were not under any immediate supervision; in the years after 1317, when most Templar possessions in Aragon and Catalonia passed to the Hospital, Gandesa was not the centre of a Hospitaller commandery. The four Templars were therefore left much to themselves.

They were leading a frustrating existence, but much no doubt depended on the degree of compatibility among the group. Of the others at Gandesa, William of Montornés was a knight who had been born c. 1292, and had entered the order at the age of 15.<sup>87</sup> he was therefore about 20 when he was sent to Gandesa. Another was Michael Bardoyl, possibly a sergeant brother, who was older.<sup>88</sup> He had been an esquire of the commander of Gardeny in 1289, and was a brother at that convent in 1293–94, and was therefore probably at least in his forties.<sup>89</sup> Tension might easily arise among a small group belonging to different ranks or generations. Inevitably, the numbers were reduced by death: in 1319, only two Templars – Peter of St Just and William of Montornés – were still receiving pensions at Gandesa.<sup>90</sup> In such a

81 ACA, R. 291 fols 41v, 146.

82 Ibid., fols 266v–267.

83 Forey, *Fall of the Templars*, pp. 139–40.

84 Finkc, ed., *Papsttum*, 2.228–9 doc. 124.

85 ACA, R. 273 fol. 223v. On the castle of Gandesa, see J. Fuguet Sans, *L'arquitectura dels Templers a Catalunya* (Barcelona, 1995), pp. 98–100.

86 ACA, R. 273 fols 224v, 242v; Peter was soon complaining that some of his armour had not been returned: *ibid.*, fol. 254v.

87 Barcelona, Archivo Capitular, codex 149 fols 42v–43v.

88 ACA, R. 278 fol. 214. A Templar sergeant named William Bardoyl had entered the order about 1287: Finke, ed., *Papsttum*, 2.368 doc. 157. He may have been Michael's brother.

89 ACA, *Ordenes religiosas y militares, San Juan de Jerusalén, Pergaminos, Gardeny* 196–8, 427, 898, 1,484, 1,826. The identity of the fourth Templar is not known.

90 Miret y Sans, *Cases*, pp. 390–95.

situation, however, any ill feeling might easily be exacerbated. Yet not all brothers lived constantly in the places to which they had been allocated. In 1317, William of Montornés was planning, with several former colleagues, to go to Castile to assist the *infante* Peter on an expedition against Granada.<sup>91</sup> Peter of St Just is not known, however, to have engaged in similar activities, and presumably remained at Gandesa. At this time, he was probably in his fifties. Yet he was not altogether cut off from external events, for it was at Gandesa that the short-lived marriage between James II's son, James, and the Castilian *infanta*, Eleanor, was solemnized in 1319, and in the same year, the Hospitaller castellan of Amposta issued the 'Constituciones baiulie Mirabeti' there.<sup>92</sup> These would have been unusual occurrences in an uneventful and outwardly purposeless life.

One issue of concern for Peter throughout his years at Gandesa was the payment of his pension and allowances. He had been assigned an annual pension of 2,000 Barcelona shillings. This was the minimum amount paid to those who had been knightly commanders. Most were given 3,000 Barcelona shillings, while some received more. Yet it was not only status within the order which determined the size of pensions. The largest pension in Aragonese lands was that paid to Dalmacio of Rocabertí, son of Viscount Dalmacio III and brother of William of Rocabertí, archbishop of Tarragona.<sup>93</sup> The St Just family was presumably only of middling rank. For all Templars, however, the sums assigned were fairly generous, and brothers should not have experienced hardship; but in practice, all encountered difficulty in obtaining the payments due in the years following 1312. In November 1313, Peter of St Just and Michael Bardoyl were among those complaining about the provision of garden produce and timber,<sup>94</sup> and in June 1317, the same two were seeking payment of pension arrears.<sup>95</sup> In 1320, after the Hospitallers had assumed responsibility for the Templar pensions, the king responded to a petition from William of Montornés and Peter by ordering that their pensions should still be paid from the revenues of the commandery of Miravet, and not elsewhere as the Hospitallers proposed.<sup>96</sup>

At this time, Peter also became involved in a lengthy dispute about the possessions of his brother, Berenguer, who had recently died. Since 1312, the Templars' vows of poverty had been ignored, and brothers were bequeathing goods by will. The Hospitallers, however, asserted a right to such property. In September 1320, the Hospital was appealing against a sentence given against it, and in July 1321 it launched another appeal.<sup>97</sup> In May 1322, James II granted some of Berenguer's

91 ACA, R. 278 fols 155v, 173v.

92 J.E. Martínez Ferrando, *Jaime II. Su vida familiar*, 2 vols (Barcelona, 1948), 1.87–93; H.T. Stureken, 'The Unconsummated Marriage of Jaime of Aragon and Leonor of Castile (October 1319)', *Journal of Medieval History* 5 (1979), pp. 185–201; G. Sánchez, ed., *Constituciones baiulie Mirabeti* (Madrid, 1915).

93 Miret y Sans, *Cases*, pp. 390–95; Forey, *Fall of the Templars*, pp. 213–14, 217.

94 ACA, R. 274 fol. 122–122v.

95 ACA, R. 278 fol. 214.

96 ACA, R. 170 fol. 12–12v.

97 ACA, R. 170 fol. 143; R. 173 fol. 154.

military equipment to Peter as a favour, but in the following month he assigned to the Hospital money that had been left by Berenguer.<sup>98</sup> In July, however, Peter secured another judgment in his favour.<sup>99</sup> Disputes could easily become protracted, with numerous appeals, and rulings could be made in ignorance of the state of proceedings. Possibly in this instance an end to the dispute was brought about by Peter's death, for he is not mentioned in documents recording attempts made in 1322–23 to enforce John XXII's decree that Templars should enter houses of other religious orders. In June 1323, Peter's colleague, William of Montornés, was still awaiting action by the bishop of Tortosa on this point, and later he – like most other surviving Templars – was deprived of his pension for refusing to comply with the papal ruling.<sup>100</sup>

For most of the time that Peter of St Just was a Templar, the order's military undertakings in both the eastern and western Mediterranean were limited: the activities of Aragonese Templars centred on the conventional life and the running of estates. Yet the hope of recovering the Holy Land and completing the Spanish reconquest had not disappeared, and revenues were still needed for military ends at a time when the order was making few new acquisitions and when its privileges and exemptions were under threat. The surviving documentation about Peter of St Just allows a fuller insight than is normally possible into the ways in which an individual brother's actions and experiences were influenced and affected by this situation. It is also unusual in that it throws some light on the significance of personal relationships: this is a theme on which most Templar documentation is silent. Lastly, Peter's story shows how the lives and careers of Templars in north-eastern Spain were shattered by Philip IV's attack on their order, even though they were innocent of all the main accusations made against them.

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98 ACA, R. 175 fols 137v–138, 141–141v.

99 ACA, R. 175 fol. 226v.

100 ACA, R. 179 fols 85v–86, 273v–274; cf. Forey, *Fall of the Templars*, p. 229.

## Chapter 15

# Relations between Houses of the Order of the Temple in Britain and their Local Communities, as Indicated during the Trial of the Templars, 1307–12

Helen J. Nicholson

Study of the order of the Temple has understandably concentrated on its military role on the frontiers of Christendom. Comparatively little research has been conducted on the order's social and economic role in the localities of western Europe where it held property. Recent research by Malcolm Barber on the charitable activities of the Hospitallers and Templars in the west, by Alan Forey on the charitable activities of the Templars, and by Cristina Dondi on the order's local liturgies have illuminated to a certain degree the order's relations with the local communities amongst which it operated.<sup>1</sup> Yet the paucity of research might seem to support the allegation brought during the trial of 1307–12 that the order was secretive and kept itself apart from local communities, leading to suspicion about its activities.<sup>2</sup> However, the documents

1 M. Barber, 'The Charitable and Medical Activities of the Hospitallers and Templars', in *A History of Pastoral Care*, ed. G.R. Evans (London and New York, 2000), pp. 148–68; A.J. Forey, 'The Charitable Activities of the Templars', *Viator* 34 (2003), pp. 109–41; C. Dondi, 'The Liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem (XII–XVI Century): with special reference to the practice of the Orders of the Temple and St John of Jerusalem' (unpublished PhD thesis, King's College London, 2000), pp. 100–117; C. Dondi, 'Manoscritti liturgici dei Templari e degli Ospitalieri: le nuove prospettive aperte dal Sacramentario Templari di Modena (Biblioteca capitolare O. II. 13)', in *I Templari, la guerra e la santità*, ed. S. Cerrini (Rimini, 2000), pp. 85–131; C. Dondi, *The Liturgy of the Canons Regular of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem: A Study and a Catalogue of the Manuscript Sources* (Turnhout, 2004), pp. 41–2 and n. 14.

2 See, for example, the charges in Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms Bodley 454, fol. 8r: '... Item<sup>xxxviiij</sup> quod recepciones fratrum suorum clandestine fiebant; Item<sup>xxxvij</sup> quod nullis presentibus nisi fratribus dicti ordinis; ... Item<sup>xxxvij</sup> quod propter hoc contra fratres dicti ordinis vehemens suspicio a longis temporibus laboravit; ... Item<sup>xxxvij</sup> quod communiter habebatur ...; ... Item<sup>lx</sup> quod iniungebatur eis per sacramentum, ne predicta revelarent; ... Item<sup>lxvij</sup> quod sub pena mortis vel [fol. 8v] carceris; ... Item<sup>lxvij</sup> quod neque modum receptionis eorum revelarent; ... Item<sup>lxvij</sup> quod nec de predictis inter se loqui audebant; ... Item<sup>lxvij</sup> quod si qui reperiebantur revelare, morte vel carcere affligebantur; ... Item<sup>lxvij</sup> quod

relating to the investigations into the Templars in the British Isles between 1308 and 1312 contain many examples of contact between the brothers and their local communities which, taken together, suggest that the relationship between the order's houses and their localities could be close, even though this relationship might infringe the letter of the order's privileges and regulations.

Contact with local communities could take many forms. It could simply involve outsiders travelling regularly through the Templars' property. The sites of former Templar houses shown on modern British Ordnance Survey maps normally have at least one public right of way running through the centre of the site.<sup>3</sup> Whilst this does not mean that there was such a right of way during the Middle Ages, it at least indicates that historically, these sites have not been cut off from their local communities. The trial testimonies, however, offer some specific evidence that the brothers gave lodging to outsiders.

Alan Forey has recently argued that although literary sources refer to the Templars lodging individual guests, 'the Temple did not normally extend hospitality to outsiders ... to pilgrims and travellers', and 'surveys of Templar buildings and archaeological investigations of Templar sites have provided no positive evidence of the existence of hospitals'.<sup>4</sup> It should be noted, however, that although the report submitted to Rhodes by the Hospitallers' English priory in 1338 indicated that every Hospitaller commandery in England and Wales incurred heavy expenses lodging travellers, the buildings in which these guests were housed have proved difficult to identify.<sup>5</sup> The English priory's report of 1338 also included seven former Templar commanderies that had passed into Hospitaller possession and incurred annual expenses in lodging travellers: Wetherby ('plures sunt supervenientes, quia in itinere versus Scociam'), Willoughton (north Lincolnshire, just off the main road running north from Lincoln to the Humber), Bruer in Lincolnshire (near the main road approaching Lincoln from the south) and Garway in Herefordshire, on the English/Welsh border, where the Hospitallers noted that most of the travellers were from Wales; whilst under Eagle in Lincolnshire, Wilburgham in Cambridgeshire, Templecombe in Somerset and Sandford in Oxfordshire, the report listed the expenses of looking after guests'

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iniungebatur eis quod non confiterentur aliquibus nisi fratribus dicti ordinis'; printed in D. Wilkins, ed., *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae*, 4 vols (London, 1737), 2.331-2.

3 See, for example, the OS Landranger maps 91 (Temple Sowerby/Acorn Bank NY 6228), 129 (Rothley SK 5712), 121/130 (Bruer SK 9952), 149 (Upleadon/Bosbury SO 6943), 161 (Garway SO 4522).

4 Forey, 'Charitable Activities of the Templars', pp. 127-8.

5 L.B. Larking, ed. (with Introduction by J.M. Kemble), *The Knights Hospitallers in England: Being the Report of Prior Philip de Thame to the Grand Master Elyan de Villanova for A.D. 1338*, Camden Society 1st ser. 65 (London, 1857), pp. 5-101. R. Gilchrist, *Contemplation and Action: The Other Monasticism* (London and New York, 1995), p. 92, is confident of two identifications, but cf. *The Victoria History of the Counties of England* (hereafter *VCH*) *Hertfordshire*, vol. 3, ed. W. Page (London, 1912), p. 349; *VCH Wilts.*, ed. D.A. Crowley, vol. 13: *South-West Wiltshire: Chalke and Dunworth Hundreds* (London, 1987), p. 95 and plate facing p. 97.

horses, and the horses of those 'coming over' ('supervenientibus').<sup>6</sup> As these houses were lodging travellers in 1338, it is most probable that they had also lodged travellers three decades earlier, at the time of the Templars.

The records of the British Templar trial proceedings, which are preserved in their fullest extent in Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms Bodley 454, offer some more precise evidence. Brother Richard of Bokingham, a friar, gave testimony that he and his comrade on the road had stayed at the Templar house of Faxfleet, along with many other people:

dici<sup>7</sup> quod faciendo tr<sup>ns</sup>nitum per Faxflete non vocatus ibid pernoctabat super vigilis Natalis domini v. annis elapsis ut credit, ubi tunc fuit frater W. de la More magister Angliae + frater Thomas Tholosus tunc preceptor Londoniensis + multi alij fratres + ibi tunc fuit admissus ad habitum Templarium Walterus de Skappe, qui postea missus fuit in Ciprum + mortuus est sicut dictus Frater Ricardus habuit a priore illius. Et quia dictus Frater Ricardus + socius suus fuerant hospitati in quadam camera iuxta dormitorum fratrum cito post medium noctem venit ad eos quidam frater claviger dicte domus + excitant eos + fecit eos ire in aula ubi steterunt cum multis alijs usque ad diem. Dictus autem magister + ceteri fratres tenuerunt suum capitulum in sua capella sicut credit statuti postqu<sup>m</sup> ipsi fuerunt amoti. Postmodum bene ante diem intr<sup>vit</sup> dictus Walterus ad capellam + postea vocatus fuit garcio suus qui portavit hernesium + divisso hernesio, cito exivit; veniente die dicti magister et fratres exiverunt + quilibet ivit viam suam.<sup>7</sup>

Brother Richard and his comrade stopped for the night at the Templar house of Faxfleet, *non vocatus*, that is, without being specifically invited to stay there. They were lodged in a room next to the brothers' dormitory. In the middle of the night, the Brother key-holder got them out of bed and sent them to stand in the hall with many other people while the master and brothers held chapter in the chapel. The grand commander of England and commander of London were receiving a new brother, and the friars and others had to wait in the hall while the applicant went in, followed by his squire with his equipment. The squire came out at once, but the Templars did not come out until daybreak. Then each went their separate ways.

Faxfleet is situated on the north bank of the River Humber in southern Yorkshire, at the confluence of the Rivers Ouse and Trent, directly opposite the town of Alkborough on the south bank of the Humber. It would have been reasonable for there to have been a ferry across the Humber at this point, carrying travellers who were travelling north or south. An inquest of 1323 into the rights of the Templars' manor here identified a right to a 'water passage of the Humber' worth 18 pence a year: 'passagium aque de Humbr' quod valet hoc annum xvij d.' – possibly referring to a toll on those who crossed the river here, or the right to run boats across the Humber or up and down the river.<sup>8</sup> The Ordnance Survey map of 1855 does show a

6 Larking, ed., *The Knights Hospitallers in England*, pp. 137, 149, 155, 158, 164, 186, 192, 198.

7 Ms Bodley 454, fol. 97r. This testimony is not in Wilkins, ed., *Concilia*.

8 The National Archives: Public Record Office (hereafter TNA: PRO) E 142/30 mem.1.

landing stage at one end of the village. This could have acted as the base for a ferry across the Humber from Alkborough, and also a point for boats carrying goods up and down the Rivers Ouse and Humber to tie up while awaiting high tide in order to continue their journey along these tidal watercourses.<sup>9</sup>

The implication of Brother Richard's testimony, that Faxfleet was an obvious place for travellers to lodge, is underlined by his statement that many other people were waiting in the hall with him and his comrade that night. It is striking that even though Brother Richard claims that he had not been specifically invited to the house, he and his comrade were lodged within the house adjoining the Templars' own rooms – not in a separate guest house, as was normal in monasteries. If his account is true, far from being more secretive than other religious orders, the Templars were being more open in allowing non-members access to their houses. Yet Brother Richard did not explain why those staying in the house that night had to get up and stand in the hall, which he indicated adjoined the chapel, as they could see who was going in and out. Perhaps rather than simple travellers they were friends and relatives of the candidate for admission and were witnesses of the fact of his admission, although they could not see the actual ceremony.

Another testimony, by one Nicholas de Hynton, notary of London, described how he was invited into the New Temple for a drink by Brother Peter de Oteringham: 'idem Petrus diceret dictum Nicholam ad quendam locum ut potaret cum eo'.<sup>10</sup> Although Nicholas reported that he had to drink up and leave the building quickly because he allegedly had spotted one of the Templars' secret idols, his depiction of the New Temple as a building into which outsiders were invited is supported by the testimony of Brother Michael de Baskerville, formerly commander of the New Temple in London, who on 27 January 1310 gave evidence before the investigators appointed in the diocese of Canterbury by the papal inquisitors. When asked about the time of day that the order held chapter meetings, he replied 'quod circa horam prime, dicta missa ad quam potest venire quilibet de populo'<sup>11</sup> ('about the first hour [that is around 6 a.m., after dawn], after mass had been said. Any of the people could come to mass'). 'Populo' could refer to servants of the brothers, or outsiders from the local community. Brother Michael did not specify which he meant, but his testimony indicates that access to the New Temple was not tightly restricted. As merchants, nobles and kings kept their property in the treasury of the house,<sup>12</sup> they would need to be able to obtain access to it at reasonable hours; but this was not all. In 1329,

9 Compare the jetty at Blacktoft, a few miles upstream on the River Ouse: R. Thompson, *Historic Blacktoft* (Blacktoft, nd), p. 63.

10 Ms Bodley 454, fol. 94r; omitted in Wilkins, ed., *Concilia*.

11 Ms Bodley 454, fol. 56r; Wilkins, ed., *Concilia*, 2.346.

12 See, for example, *Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III preserved in the Public Record Office, 1247–1251* (London, 1922), p. 283; 'Annals of Dunstable', in *Annales Monastici*, ed. H.R. Luard, *RS* 36, vol. 3 (London, 1866), pp. 222–3; A. Sandys, 'The Financial and Administrative Importance of the London Temple in the Thirteenth Century', in *Essays in Medieval History presented to Thomas Frederick Tout*, ed. A.G. Little and F.M. Powicke (Manchester, 1925), pp. 147–62.

King Edward III noted that there was a public right of way through the middle of the court of the New Temple, from the main road to the bank of the Thames, from which secular persons could take boats up the Thames to Westminster, and that it had been the order's responsibility to maintain the bridge over the River Fleet so that secular persons could use this right of way. The king commanded the mayor of London to ensure that the gates of the New Temple were kept open from sunrise to sunset to allow the public to pass through to the wharf, implying that this had been the Templars' custom.<sup>13</sup> In 1374, the dispute arose again because the Hospitallers, who by then had obtained possession of the New Temple, had been closing the gate during the daytime and blocking the customary thoroughfare that had existed 'time out of mind' for carrying goods 'by wains, horses and otherwise'. In addition, any free man of London could request passage through the New Temple at night for the carriage of goods, but not by wain.<sup>14</sup> If these rights had indeed existed 'time out of mind', then the Templars of the New Temple had allowed a public thoroughfare through their main English house by day and night. The Hospitallers were not always prompt to acknowledge their inherited duties, as in March 1398 King Richard II noted that the bridge was again 'broken and ruinous' and ordered Prior Walter de Grendon to have it repaired before Whitsun.<sup>15</sup>

Brother Michael de Baskerville's evidence that 'people' attended mass in the chapel of the New Temple indicates that the order's chapels were utilized by the order's servants and/or by outsiders from the locality. When in 1139 Pope Innocent II had granted the order the privilege of having its own chapels, he specifically stated that this was to enable the brothers to worship separately from non-members of the order.<sup>16</sup> Yet other evidence from the British trial proceedings suggests that outsiders did enter Templar chapels on a regular basis.

Brother Adam of Smeton, an Austin friar, reported a conversation that he had had with an old man who had worked for twenty years for the Templars at their commandery at Sandford in Oxfordshire. The old man had said:

vidit quod quando oportebat Templarij de Samsford exire ad sua negotia ardua peragenda consueverunt mane surgere et suam capellam intrare et ad altare accedere et de magna tabula lapidea altaris extrahere quandam lapidem ad quantitatem unius parvi superaltaris qui tam subtiliter reponi potuit in lapideam tabulam memoratam quod vix eius iunctura ab aliquo extraneo potuit deprehendi + ipsum lapidem e predicta tabula assumptum erigere et super altarem ponere + ipsum erectum flexis genibus adorare + se ipsos ad terram

13 *Calendar of the Close Rolls of the Reign of Edward III, AD 1327–1330* (London, 1896), p. 580; *Calendar of the Close Rolls: Edward III, AD 1330–1333* (London, 1898), p. 102; T. Rymer, ed., *Foedera, conventiones, literae et cuiusque generis Acta Publica ...*, edn revised by R. Sanderson, A. Clarke and F. Holbrooke, vol. 2.2, AD 1327–44 (London, 1821), pp. 774, 805.

14 *Calendar of the Close Rolls: Edward III, AD 1374–1377* (London, 1913), pp. 26–7.

15 *Calendar of the Close Rolls: Richard II, AD 1396–1399* (London, 1927), pp. 272–3.

16 R. Hiestand, ed., *Papsturkunden für Templer und Johanniter* (Göttingen, 1972), no.

prosternere gementes + adorantes qu'si petentes aliquid ab eo + hoc frequenter vidit senex predictus. Quibus factis, predictum lapidem in locum prestitum reposuerunt quo tempore nullum secularem permisunt dictam capellam intrare nisi esset eis multum specialis.<sup>17</sup>

When the Templars had to go on journeys, they used to get up early in the morning and go into their chapel and up to the altar and take a great stone tablet out of the altar, like a small portable altar and so carefully made that it fitted into the top of the altar stone as if it were all one piece. They placed this on the altar and all knelt before it and adored it and lay on the ground before it groaning. The old man had often seen this. At such times, no secular person [presumably he meant no non-member of the order] was permitted to enter the chapel except on important business.

This testimony may well have been true. The obvious explanation for the old man's story was that the stone that lay within the altar stone contained holy relics, which the Templars venerated before setting out on an important journey. The inventory taken by the sheriff when he arrested the Templars at Sandford in January 1308 includes a *phylatorium*, a reliquary, in the chapel.<sup>18</sup> If the story were true, presumably it was also true that on normal occasions, outsiders could enter the Templars' chapel, and were excluded only during the brothers' private services. Here, it appears that the Templars' servants were the outsiders in question.

A summary of the testimonies given in England and Ireland was drawn up in spring 1311, presumably for reference during the forthcoming Church council at Vienne, as it is now held in the Vatican Archives.<sup>19</sup> This summary included a number of testimonies not included in ms Bodley 454, including some by one Nicholas de Redemere, friar preacher, who said:

se audivisse a domina de Stitetona iuxt<sup>a</sup> yheil conventrensis diocesis uxor domini Willelmi de Bereford militis + iusticiarii domini Regis quod quidam famulus Eiusdem domine prout dictus famulus narravi<sup>i</sup> dicte domine portavi<sup>i</sup> litteram directam Cuidam templario apud belasale, + Cum int<sup>r</sup>isset Capellam vidit unum fratrem de Templariis levantem pannos suos a tergo + deponentem femoralia + retrogradiendo posuit anum suum ad faciem ymaginis Crucifixi.<sup>20</sup>

17 Ms Bodley 454, fol. 96v; Wilkins, ed., *Concilia*, 2.362, gives only this witness's name.

18 TNA: PRO E 142/13, mem. 3. For the Church's ambiguous attitude towards the veneration of relics, see K. Kamerick, *Popular Piety and Art in the Later Middle Ages* (New York and Basingstoke, 2002).

19 M. Barber, *The Trial of the Templars* (Cambridge, 1978), p. 286 n. 11.

20 'Diminutio Laboris examinantium processus contr<sup>a</sup> ordinem Templi in Anglia quasi per modum Rubricarum', Archivio segreto Vaticano, Armarium XXXV, ms 147, fol. 3r; published in K. Schottmüller, ed., *Der Untergang des Templer-Ordens mit urkundlichen und kritischen Beiträgen*, 2 vols (Berlin, 1887, repr. Vaduz, Liechtenstein, 1991), 2.78–102, here p. 82.

He had heard from the Lady of Stiteton near Keele [unidentified], wife of Lord William de Beresford, knight and justiciar of the lord king, that one of her servants had told her that he had been bearer of a letter addressed to a Templar at Balsall [Warwickshire]. When he entered the chapel, he saw a Brother Templar dishonouring the Cross.

This was not the chapel now at Balsall, which, as Eileen Gooder has noted, is post-Templar; the Templars' chapel was possibly at the west end of the hall, below the parlour.<sup>21</sup> It was clearly a private chapel of the commandery, and no reason is given in this story as to why the messenger should have entered it. The private nature of the chapel is also implied in the account of the Templar's behaviour, which could only have taken place in secret. On the other hand, the fact that the messenger entered the chapel without any reason being given for his doing so suggests that outsiders normally expected to be able to gain access to the Templars' commandery chapels.

Brother Thomas, the chamberlain of the order of the Temple, in a preliminary interrogation, explained that the chapel doors were kept shut during an admission ceremony:

De causa quare seculares non intersunt in recepcione et professione fratrum requisitus, dicit quod credit quia ita scribitur in libro eorum articulorum.<sup>22</sup>

... so that secular persons could not be at the admission ceremony and request the brothers to allow them to enter the order. He said that he believed that this was written in the order's regulations.

In fact, there was no such instruction in the order's Rule, but if the brothers expected intrusions into their chapels if the doors were not shut, it is evident that outsiders commonly entered the brothers' commandery chapels.

Another reason for outsiders to come into Templar houses would have been to receive charity. The order's regulations stated that the Templars should give their unused food and clothing to the poor.<sup>23</sup> Yet individual houses of the Temple in Britain also gave regular alms to the local poor and needy over and above this requirement. The jurors who in 1309 reported on the value of the Templars' former manor of Foukebridge (now Foulbridge) in north Yorkshire stated that alms were given on three days each week to all-comers:

dicunt etiam quod solebant facere in eodem manerio elemoseria cuilibet pauperi venienti per tres dies in qualibet septimanian, an de iure an de gratia sua; tam de caritaria quam de elemosinia predicti iurati ignorant.<sup>24</sup>

21 E. Gooder, *Temple Balsall: the Warwickshire Preceptory of the Templars and their Fate* (Chichester, 1995), pp. 67–8.

22 Ms Bodley 454, fol. 13r; Wilkins, ed., *Concilia*, 2.335.

23 H. de Curzon, ed., *La Règle du Temple* (Paris, 1885), sections 19, 29, 62, 65, 94, 97, 129, 153, 188, 189, 199, 370, 371; trans. J. Upton-Ward, *The Rule of the Templars: The French Text of the Rule of the Order of the Temple* (Woodbridge, 1992).

24 TNA: PRO E 142/16, mem. 15.

Similar alms were given at Cressing in Essex:

Item predicti fratres solebant distribuere per constitutionem tocius Capituli qualibet septimana per iij dies singulis annis omnibus pauperibus ibidem venientis panem et bladem pro voluntate eorumdem et estimata quod eadem elemosina potest fieri per annum de lij s.<sup>25</sup>

However, in several locations the jurors noted that by the original terms of the donation the Templars were not bound to give regular alms in charity.<sup>26</sup>

Such almsgiving must have been very valuable to the local poor, especially in the deteriorating climatic conditions of the fourteenth century, when harvests failed and food became short. Yet although the English parliament of 1324 decided that the Templars' former properties should be passed to the Hospitallers on condition that the Hospitallers maintained 'the same services by which the brethren of the order of the Temple held them at the time of the cessation of the order, such as in feeding the poor, hospitalities, celebration of divine service, defence of the Holy Land and other charges and services previously due',<sup>27</sup> the Hospitallers did not necessarily continue the Templars' charitable work. In March 1335, King Edward III set up a commission to investigate why the Hospitallers had ceased to perform the charitable works that the Templars of Eagle in Lincolnshire had been bound to perform by the terms of the original gift, including distribution to the poor of 15 shillings in cash or food each week, with shoes and other clothing yearly,<sup>28</sup> but on investigation it was established in 1344 that no such alms were due.<sup>29</sup> The question arose again in 1377, and had to be resolved by reference to the 1344 decision.<sup>30</sup>

Simon Phillips has suggested that such challenges to the Hospitaller administration of former Templar lands arose because 'the only way for Templar patrons to regain lands was to prove that the Hospitallers were not maintaining services'. In addition to the dispute over Eagle, he has cited a similar dispute that arose in the 1420s between royal officials and the Hospitallers of Upleadon, a former Templar commandery in Herefordshire. The alleged services due at Upleadon included masses to be said, the care of the sick, and hospitality for travellers: 'It was stated that three priests should celebrate in the chapel, there should be five sick beds with two men in each, with

25 M. Gervers, ed., *The Cartulary of the Knights of St John of Jerusalem in England, Secunda Camera, Essex* (London, 1982), p. 56 doc. 85, from British Library ms Cotton Nero E VI, fol. 304r; see also Forey, 'Charitable Activities of the Templars', p. 118.

26 London, British Library, ms Cotton Nero E VI: at Chingsford in Herts (new foliation: fols 68v–70r), at 'Elfande' (Elsand?) in Surrey (fol. 141r), Loxwood in Sussex (fol. 142r), Merrow in Surrey (fol. 147r), Shipley in Sussex (fols 152v–153v), Compton in Sussex (fol. 164), and Berwick in Sussex (fols 151r and 200r).

27 Translated in *Calendar of the Close Rolls: Edward II, AD 1323–1327* (London, 1898), p. 91.

28 *Calendar of the Patent Rolls: Edward III, AD 1334–1338* (London, 1895), p. 199.

29 *Calendar of the Close Rolls: Edward III, AD 1343–1346* (London, 1904), p. 313; but cf. *Calendar of the Charter Rolls, AD 1342–1417* (London, 1916), p. 40.

30 *Calendar of the Patent Rolls: Edward III, AD 1374–1377* (London, 1916), p. 424.

meat and raiment, and if one died he was to be replaced (probably the provision of corrodies). Travellers should also be entertained and refreshed with food and drink.<sup>31</sup> There was some support for this claim in the fact that there had been at least three corrodaries at Upleadon at the time of the Templars' arrest.<sup>32</sup>

Some such claims regarding former Templar lands were more imaginative than others. In the 1330s, the king's escheator in Yorkshire confiscated the Hospitallers' *camera* of Stainton-upon-Blackholmoor, alias Staintondale in North Yorkshire, because he claimed it had been given to the Templars by King Stephen on condition that the master should 'find a chaplain there to celebrate divine service daily and to receive and entertain poor guests and pilgrims there and to ring and blow the horn every night at dusk lest pilgrims and strangers should lose their way there' (presumably on the road along the coast from Scarborough to Whitby), and the Hospitallers had allowed these services to lapse. On investigation, it transpired that the property had never belonged to the Templars, having been granted to the Hospitallers by King Richard I without any such services due.<sup>33</sup> Yet it is worth noting that the escheator believed that such services would have been reasonable for the Templars.

Another means by which Templar houses contributed towards their locality was through the payment of corrodies. Eileen Gooder has judged that there were so many corrodies at Templar houses in England that, at a period when the Templars had already abandoned some of their properties, the presence of corrodies is a 'sign of the residence of Templars at a given house'.<sup>34</sup> Alan Forey has considered the role of Templar commanderies in supporting elderly associates of the order through corrodies.<sup>35</sup> Some of the corrodaries were donors to the order, but others were former employees of the order, who in return for many years' service received board and lodging in their old age at the house where they had worked. Thus the corrodies would have strengthened the ties between a Templar house and its locality.

31 S. Phillips, 'The Role of the Prior of St John in Late Medieval England, c. 1300–1540' (unpublished PhD thesis, University College Winchester, 2005), pp. 13, 37: quoting *Calendar of the Close Rolls, Henry VI, 1422–1429* (London, 1933), p. 244.

32 *Calendar of the Close Rolls: Edward II, AD 1307–1313* (London, 1892), p. 388: John Parson of Garway and Richard de la Felde, chaplain. See also H. Cole, ed., *Documents Illustrative of English History in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (London, 1844), 'Corrodia petita de domibus Templariorum', pp. 163–4: Nicholas de Stounesby. See also ibid., p. 175, for a corrodarian who received a regular payment and clothes but did not live in the commandery.

33 *Calendar of the Close Rolls: Edward III, AD 1339–1341* (London, 1901), pp. 410–11.

34 E.A. Gooder, 'South Witham and the Templars. The Documentary Evidence', in *Excavations at a Templar Preceptory: South Witham, Lincolnshire, 1965–67*, ed. Philip Mayes (Leeds, 2002), p. 85.

35 A. Forey, 'Provision for the Aged in Templar Commanderies' in *La Commanderie: Institution des ordres militaires dans l'Occident médiéval*, ed. A. Luttrell and L. Pressouyre (Paris, 2002), pp. 178–83.

A Templar commandery would employ a large number of outsiders, both inside and outside the house. The records of income and expense kept by the royal keepers appointed to administer the Templars' properties in England after the brothers' arrest early in 1308 give an insight into the impact of a Templar commandery on its locality. Eileen Gooder has assessed the royal keepers' accounts for Balsall (Warwickshire) and South Witham (Lincolnshire) whilst P.M. Ryan has examined those for Cressing (Essex).<sup>36</sup> Taking into account only the full-time labourers, Gooder established that at Balsall there were 19 full-time labourers or *famuli*, of whom two, the plough-overseer and lambing shepherd, worked only seasonally. In addition, two more men were taken on at harvest time. Three of the labourers (the reeve and two foresters) had their own homes, but 'there is no reason whatsoever to suppose that the rest of the *famuli* lived anywhere but in lodgings somewhere within the precincts of the manor'. They were paid partly in cash and partly in food, which Gooder commented: 'would give more than enough nourishment ... in other words, even the least favoured of the *famuli* were in no danger of starving'.<sup>37</sup> Under the Templar administration, therefore, at least 17 men could rely on steady work that provided adequate support for themselves and possibly for their dependents, without taking into account part-time seasonal workers such as the 'xv mulieres colligentes stipula' per *iiij*or* dies*' mentioned in passing in the first year of the keeper's accounts.<sup>38</sup> But what became of these workers after the Templars' arrests? Gooder noted that at Balsall from 1308, 'the Keepers pursued a policy of retrenchment, reducing superfluities whether of human workforce or animal stock', and in 1313–14, everything moveable and all the stock was sold, so that Balsall was probably left 'near-derelict'.<sup>39</sup>

At South Witham, Gooder noted that there were 8 *famuli*, plus 12 ploughmen and a bailiff, and 3 shepherds who were paid from the neighbouring Templar commandery of Bruer. As at Balsall, the royal keeper sold off the stock, and in 1309, on royal orders, handed the commandery over to a new owner.<sup>40</sup> At Faxfleet, John de Crepping, who was keeper of the Templars' lands in Yorkshire, reported in 1308 that he had paid wages to a reeve (*prepositus*), a granger, a carpenter, a smith, a miller, 14 ploughmen, 2 carters, an oxherd, a *custos* of the horses, a swineherd, 8 shepherds, a 'cucus daye' (a cook-dairyman?) and a 'formannus messoris' (harvest overseer). They were paid in wheat and mixed grain ('*siligo mixta*') at a rate of one quarter per 12 weeks. There was also a woman who collected milk for the lambs ('1 mulier colligens lac pro agnitis') for the nine weeks from 3 March to 5 May, who was paid one quarter. Another woman who collected milk for the lambs from 3 March to 14 April received 3 bushels for the six weeks, whilst 10 milking women who

<sup>36</sup> Gooder, *Temple Balsall*, pp. 31–63; Gooder, 'South Witham', pp. 80–95; P.M. Ryan, 'Cressing Temple: Its History from Documentary Sources', in *Cressing Temple: A Templar and Hospitaller Manor in Essex*, ed. D.D. Andrews (Chelmsford, 1993), pp. 11–24.

<sup>37</sup> Gooder, *Temple Balsall*, pp. 31–3.

<sup>38</sup> TNA: PRO E358/19, mem. 40(1) recto.

<sup>39</sup> Gooder, *Temple Balsall*, pp. 43, 61.

<sup>40</sup> Gooder, 'South Witham', pp. 85–6.

worked for seven weeks from 15 May to 24 June were paid four quarters and three bushels. A shepherd from nearby Etton, who looked after the ram from the Templars' commandery of Etton that was grazing on the pastures of Faxfleet from 24 March to the 15 June, that is, 12 weeks, was paid one quarter.<sup>41</sup>

John de Gray followed Crepping as keeper of the Templar lands in Yorkshire, and his lists of wages paid are similar, but include also an *instaurius* (stockman), whilst the cook and dairyman appear to be two different people: '1 coci+ eiusdem Daye'. There were seven shepherds and a swineherd, who received one quarter each 12 weeks. Ten women milked the ewes for half a bushel per week, and two peasants who looked after the flocks received a quarter each 16 weeks. One account includes an overseer of the ploughmen; a winter account includes a *hertiator* or harrower. The employees were paid both in grain and in cash.<sup>42</sup> John de Gray's successors, Alexander de Cave and Robert de Amecotes, were responsible for winding up the royal administration of Faxfleet. On the king's instructions, they delivered all the moveables at Faxfleet to Johanna, widow of Alexander Comyn.<sup>43</sup> Faxfleet was the major Templar house in Yorkshire at the time of the arrests,<sup>44</sup> so it is not surprising that it employed a significant number of people. It is not clear what became of the estates when the king passed the property of the house to others, but the loss of the regular and seasonal employment offered by the Templars would have been a blow to the labourers of the area and their families.

Individual Templar houses could be responsible for local environmental matters. On 18 November 1308, King Edward II wrote to John de Shadworth, custodian of the former Templar lands in Essex, stating he understood that the dykes and ditches on the sea coast that belonged to the Templars' tenements in Sutton, which the brothers used to maintain against flooding by the sea, had deteriorated so far that unless steps were taken urgently, the coastal land would be flooded by the sea. John de Shadworth was to have the dykes and ditches repaired without delay, from the incomes from Sutton.<sup>45</sup> At a time of deteriorating climatic conditions, the need for effective flood defences on the east coast of England and on the Somerset coast became urgent, and it is clear from the Patent Rolls from 1313 to 1327 that in many areas there was no one responsible for ensuring continued maintenance of these defences; the only procedure was the royal appointment of commissions 'de wallis et fossatis' on an ad hoc basis in response to local petition.<sup>46</sup> Where there was a locally

41 TNA: PRO E358/20, mem. 40 recto.

42 TNA: PRO E358/18, mems 31, 33 recto, 34 recto.

43 TNA: PRO E358/18, mem. 45 recto; TNA: PRO E358/19, mem. 29 recto; see also *Calendar of the Patent Rolls: Edward II. AD 1307-1313* (London, 1894), p. 569.

44 Listed first by the sheriff in his account of the arrests, Faxfleet housed four brothers including a priest, more than any other Yorkshire house; and the Templars' Yorkshire records were kept there: TNA: PRO E142/18 mems 1, 13.

45 2 Edward II, Lord Treasurer's remembrancer, memoranda rolls: TNA: PRO E368/79, mem. 107 recto.

46 *Calendar of the Patent Rolls, Edward II. AD 1313-1317; AD 1317-1321; AD 1324-1327* (London, 1898-1904), *passim*.

responsible body such as the Templars, the dissolution of this organization had a material impact on the locality.

What did the Templars' neighbours think of the brothers? There is a little evidence from the trial. Eileen Gooder noted that a nun of St Mary's, Clerkenwell, gave an ivory image of the Blessed Virgin Mary to one of the Templars who was imprisoned in Aldgate.<sup>47</sup> The large crowds who assembled during the first weeks of July 1311 to hear the Templars of Canterbury Province abjure heresy and receive absolution indicate that in London there was widespread popular interest in the case.<sup>48</sup> In Scotland, Lord Henry de St Claro (St Clair or Sinclair) and Lord Hugh de Rydale, two neighbours of the Templars of Balantrodock in Midlothian (Temple), expressed their good opinion of the late local commander:

Dixit +iam dominus Henricus de Sancto Claro predicto quod vidit semel quendam Templarium magistrum domus de Blancredok in Scocia in articulo mortis corpus xpi devote recipientem pro ut intuentibus videbatur. Tunc dixit dominus Hugo de Rydale predictus quod idem magister magna dedit donaria pro eo quod non ierit ad Capitulum Templariorum generale + credit hoc eum fecisse ne consentiret criminibus nunc per maiores sui ordinis confessatis.

Lord Henry Sinclair said that he had seen the commander of Temple on his deathbed, receiving the eucharist very devoutly, so far as onlookers could judge. Then Lord Hugh de Rydale said that the same commander used to give gifts because he did not go to the general chapters, and he believed that he did this so that he would not have to assent to the crimes that had now been confessed by the superiors of his order.

Very few of the British Templars' former servants or tenants gave evidence during the trial, and those who did had little to say about the order.<sup>49</sup> There were distinct advantages in being a tenant of the Templars, as the brothers and their tenants

47 Gooder, *Temple Balsall*, p. 113, quoting Cole, ed., *Documents illustrative of English History*, 'Corrodia', pp. 215–16.

48 Ms Bodley 454, fol. 165r–v, Wilkins, ed., *Concilia*, 2.389: 'presente Concilio et plebe totius Civitatis'; ms Bodley 454, fol. 168r, Wilkins, ed., *Concilia*, 2.391: '+ magno populo Civitatis'; ms Bodley 454, fol. 168v, Wilkins, ed., *Concilia*, 2.391: 'populi civitatis multitudine copiosa'.

49 The neighbours of the New Temple (London, ms Bodley 454, fols 60r–62v, abridged in Wilkins, ed., *Concilia*, 2.348–9), were with a few exceptions either favourable or stated that they knew nothing relevant to the case. Three of the order's former servants gave evidence on disciplinary procedures for the order's servants: ms Bodley 454, fol. 97v: Osbertus Carectarius and Willelmus Bogeys, and ms Bodley 454, fol. 99r: Gilbertus de Chapemoa (Wilkins, ed., *Concilia*, 2.362, 363, gives the names only, omitting their testimonies). Other former servants had little pertinent information: ms Bodley 454, fol. 153v, Wilkins, ed., *Concilia*, 2.379: Thomas de Broghton, former servant of the order on Cyprus; ms Bodley 454, fols 158v–159r, Wilkins, ed., *Concilia*, 2.382: Johannes Chyngor, former servant of the Templars in Scotland, and Adam Faber, Alanus Pay, Michael Fyder, Thomas Stagger, Thomas Tenaut, Johannes Sergaunt, Adam Lax and Johannes Gruub, his neighbours and tenants of the Templars.

enjoyed a certain degree of independence from royal jurisdiction.<sup>50</sup> Although the precise circumstances are unclear, the sudden change from a relative lack of outside interference to more intensive governmental oversight that the Templars' arrest brought on their tenants could have been a contributory factor in the riot that occurred at the Templars' new town of Baldock in Hertfordshire when, after the dissolution of the order in 1312, the king's officer went to conduct a view of frankpledge there and to collect the tolls and other dues from the annual fair.<sup>51</sup>

This article has set out a small selection of the evidence surviving in the records of the 'Templars' affair' in the British Isles that may deepen scholars' knowledge of the Templars' relations with society at large. It appears that at least some Templar houses were integrated into their locality, with travellers passing through the house on a regular basis, lodging there or visiting the chapel. Many local people were employed by a Templar commandery, on a full-time basis all year round or on a part-time seasonal basis. In addition, through the provision of corrodies and charitable giving, a Templar house could be a significant local provider of care to the elderly or needy. The evidence set out here indicates that the level of provision varied from house to house, and that some houses were more significant to their locality than others. However, as this article has barely scratched the surface of the surviving evidence, there is great potential for further research in this area.

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50 C. Perkins, 'The Knights Templars in the British Isles', *EHR* 25 (1910), pp. 213–18.

51 *Calendar of the Patent Rolls, Edward II: AD 1307–1313* (London, 1894), pp. 535–7, 539–40.



## Chapter 16

# Italian Templar Trials: Truth or Falsehood?

Anne Gilmour-Bryson

A great deal of attention has been given to the hearings, or trials, into the order of the Temple and its members held from 19 October 1307, only one week after the arrests in France, until 26 May 1311, when the papal commission heard its last depositions.<sup>1</sup> Much of the scholarly writing on this topic has focused on the French hearings.<sup>2</sup> Admittedly, the relentless repetition of guilt encountered especially in the Paris hearing of 1307, including that of the two most important dignitaries, James of Molay and Hugues de Pairaud, and the hearing in Poitiers in 1308 have influenced many readers over the centuries regarding the overwhelming guilt of most members of the order. Oddly, much less has been written about the trials in England, Scotland, Ireland, Cyprus, Roussillon and the Iberian peninsula.<sup>3</sup> In these areas, almost no men admitted any guilt whatsoever. I intend here to discuss the Italian hearings, which involved few witnesses, but which were written down by the notaries in considerable detail, in Brindisi, throughout Apulia, the Abruzzi and the papal state,

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1 See the chronology in M. Barber, *The Trial of the Templars* (Cambridge, 1978), pp. 258–9.

2 For the French hearings in Paris, Chinon, Roussillon and the Auvergne, see J. Michelet, *Le Procès des Templiers*, 2 vols (Paris, 1841–51, reprint Paris, 1987); R. Sèvè and A.-M. Chagny-Sèvè, eds, *Le Procès des Templiers d'Auvergne* (Paris, 1986). For Poitiers see K. Schottmüller, *Der Untergang des Templer-Ordens mit urkundlichen und kritischen Beiträgen* (Berlin, 1887, reprint New York, 1970), pp. 9–71; H. Finke, ed., *Papsttum und Untergang des Templerordens*, 2 vols (Münster, 1907), 2.329–40. There are some briefly reported French hearings in H. Prutz, *Entwicklung und Untergang des Tempelherrenordens* (Wiesbaden, 1888, reprint 1978), pp. 325–45.

3 On England, see the still useful T.W. Parker, *The Knights Templars in England* (Tucson, AZ, 1963) and H. Nicholson, *The Knights Templar: A New History* (Stroud, 2001), pp. 226–7. For Cyprus, see my *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus: A Complete English Edition* (Leiden, 1998). The most recent work in English on the Iberian peninsula is A. Forey, *The Fall of the Templars in the Crown of Aragon* (Aldershot, 2001).

and in Florence.<sup>4</sup> The hearing in Naples has left only very fragmentary information.<sup>5</sup> We have little concrete data on the hearing in Ravenna, but we do know that about thirteen Templars were questioned. The council, summoned to pronounce on their guilt, absolved them all, stating that those who had confessed guilt had done so either through torture or fear of torture.<sup>6</sup>

One of the most difficult aspects of comparing one Templar trial with another is that the well-known list of accusations, published, among others, by Barber, Michelet and myself, can vary from one hearing to another.<sup>7</sup> In Brindisi, the papal state and Florence, the same list of 127 allegations was used.<sup>8</sup> The three hearings proceeded, nevertheless, quite differently, although all three of them followed conventional inquisitional protocol. In Brindisi, the hearings took place in two different locations: the church of St Mary of Casali in the diocese of Brindisi, and the city's royal palace. In 1311 in Florence, the hearings began in the church of St Egidius, moving later to the bishop's palace, which was the venue often used for the tribunal in such hearings. The hearings in the papal state and the Abruzzi were far more peripatetic, beginning in Rome in the monastery of Saints Boniface and Alexis in autumn 1309, moving just before Christmas to Viterbo, where they used the episcopal palace, the location of all the events listed below unless another location is specified, heading off to the monastery of Saint Peter in Assisi in February–March 1310, Gubbio in March, Aquila in April, Penna in April, where they heard from the first witness; the second witness testified in Chieti. The inquisitors then returned in May to Rome, to the Templar church of Santa Maria in Aventino, where they published papal letters and edicts. Installed by 28 May in Viterbo, the inquisitors heard the next five witnesses over a period of 13 days. In July, the interrogators and their notaries moved to Albano, the

4 For Florence, see T. Bini, 'Dei tempieri e del loro processo in Toscana', *Atti della Reale Accademia Lucchese* 13 (1845), doc. 9, pp. 459–506, including an edition of the testimony, referred to below as Bini. I am extremely grateful to Father William Sheehan, Director of Printed Books, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, who assisted me in acquiring a missing page of this article. See also my *The Trial of the Templars in the Papal State and the Abruzzi* (Città del Vaticano, 1982), hereafter referred to as *Papal State*, ed. AGB; for Brindisi, see Schottmüller, *Der Untergang*, 2.105–40, referred to below as Schottmüller 2.

5 Barber, *Trial*, p. 213. The little information we have from Luceria was published by M. Raynouard, *Monuments historiques relatifs à la condamnation des Chevaliers du Temple* (Paris, 1813), pp. 264–7, 313–15, cited in Barber, *Trial*, pp. 213–14.

6 See R. Caravita, *Rinaldo da Concorrezo arcivescovo di Ravenna 1303–1321 al tempo di Dante* (Florence, 1964), pp. 97–166, 265–307, especially pp. 148–52; and Rubeus, *Historiarum Ravennatum, liber VI*, ed. 1590, pp. 521–6, and on p. 525: 'Intelligi innocentes debere, qui metu tormentorum confessi fuissent, si deinde eam confessionem revocassent: aut revocare, huiusmodi tormentorum metu, ne inverentur nova, non fuissent ausi: dum tamen id constateret.' See also A. Demurger, *Les Templiers. Une chevalerie chrétienne au moyen âge* (Paris, 2005), p. 459.

7 See Barber, *Trial*, Appendix A, pp. 248–52; Michelet, ed., *Le Procès*, 1.89–96; Gilmour-Bryson, *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus*, pp. 45–51, in which the numbering of allegations varies considerably.

8 See the list in Schottmüller 2.119–24; *Papal State*, ed. AGB, pp. 74–84.

church of St Peter, and later the monastery of St Paul. In Velletri in July, they heard from seven non-Templar witnesses. They also went to Segni, where they questioned the bishop and four more non-Templar witnesses. They sent a message from Castel Fajola, nearby, that they were moving on to Tivoli, where in inquisitor Pandulfus de Sabello's own house, they declared that they were leaving for Palombara, where they heard the last witness. On what appears to be the same day, 27 July 1310, the notaries added their final attestations to the entire *rotulus* or roll of parchment. All the hearings into the Templars in Italy were carried out with considerable attention to procedure. Two inquisitors, one or both of them bishops, presided, and several notaries attested to the truth of the depositions, that is, that they were written down as given. Notaries obviously cannot say anything about whether what witnesses say is true or false.<sup>9</sup>

In Florence, John, archbishop of Pisa, Antony, bishop of Florence, and Peter Iudicis de Urbe, a canon from Verona, had been delegated to inquire into 'the order of the *militia* of the Temple of Jerusalem and particular persons and brothers in areas of Lombardy and Tuscany ...'.<sup>10</sup> The first date listed is that of 'Die Lune XX Septembris VIII indit'<sup>11</sup> (1311) in the church of St Egidius of Florence.<sup>12</sup>

The first Templar witness, Brother Egidius, was preceptor of the order's house in San Gimignano, south of Florence, testifying on 17 September.<sup>13</sup> As was frequently the case in these hearings, the evidence of the first witness was written down in considerably more detail than that of later witnesses, who usually gave similar testimony.<sup>14</sup> He confessed to having seen two brothers at his reception denying God, Christ, the Virgin Mary and the saints.<sup>15</sup> One of them had been received in Bologna twenty-five years earlier by William of Nove, grand preceptor of Lombardy. The other had been received in Piacenza by Brother Blancus, grand preceptor of Lombardy thirty years previously. Egidius denied in the same manner when he was

9 On inquisitorial procedure as practised in Cyprus and in the hearings in the papal state, Apulia, and Abruzzi, see my article 'The Templar Trials: Did the System Work?', *The Medieval History Journal* 3 (2000), pp. 41–65.

10 Bini, p. 460 using MS Vat. Lat 4,011, of which I have a microfilm.

11 Dating problems with this trial may relate to the variable dates of the beginning of the induction in Italy. Whilst the pontifical induction generally began on 25 December, Florence and Pisa at this time usually began the induction on 24 September: A. Cappelli, *Cronologia, Cronografia et Calendario Perpetuo* (Milan, 1930, reissued 1960), pp. 6–7.

12 Bini, p. 460 dates this trial to 1312, which would mean that it occurred long after the end of the council of Vienne, an unlikely hypothesis.

13 Given the length constraints on this essay, and the repetitive nature of witnesses' answers, I will discuss the first man's testimony in Florence and in the papal state in greater detail than those coming later. His testimony appears in Bini, pp. 461–70, from which all quotes are taken.

14 Whilst all witnesses answered the same 127 allegations, Egidius's testimony took up 10 pages, the second and third witnesses 7.5 pages, the fourth 6 pages, the fifth 4 pages, and the sixth 6 pages.

15 Bini, p. 461.

ordered to. He had seen similar denials take place at other receptions. He had heard that the grand master and other brothers who were overseas adored an idol and said that Christ was a false prophet who did not die for our salvation.<sup>16</sup> Not surprisingly, he agreed that those who adored an idol or spat upon the cross did not believe in salvation from Christ. He alleged that twenty-six years previously, he had seen brothers trample on the cross and order it to be trod upon. Such persons should be burned, he insisted.<sup>17</sup> He affirmed that such acts also took place in Bologna, where William of Nove spat at Christ on the cross. He was less sure about the allegation suggesting that Templar priests omitted the words of consecration when saying mass: some said the words, and some did not. This witness also believed that the grand master and the visitor, even though laymen, could absolve brethren from sin. According to this man, illicit kisses were given or exchanged on the navel or naked stomach, the penis, or on the *pettignone* or groin.<sup>18</sup> The illicit acts, which took place in a closed room after the legitimate ceremony, were sometimes accompanied by urinating on the cross and adoring an idol. He saw idol-worship in Bologna and Piacenza, naming several important members of the order as present.<sup>19</sup> The witness alleged that Templars did touch the idol with the cords that they wore around their waists.<sup>20</sup> He witnessed two brothers having sex with one another, and stated that this behaviour was publicly known throughout the order. In response to allegation 65, the witness said that Templars refusing to carry out illicit acts, or revealing what happened at their reception, were sent to gaol.<sup>21</sup> He had seen two such men, captured in Fiesole, in bonds, taken off to Rome, where they eventually died in captivity.<sup>22</sup> Whilst alleging that such things happened overseas, he had no direct knowledge of events outside Italy.<sup>23</sup> He also believed that illicit receptions happened everywhere, since that was the only sort of ceremony he had seen. He insisted that receptions were held in the middle of the night, by the light of candles, contradicting the testimony of hundreds of witnesses elsewhere.<sup>24</sup> He bolstered the credibility of his words when

16 A claim echoed by others in this trial.

17 Bini, p. 462, 'quod talia faciebant, quod omnes debebant comburi', which could also imply that they should be branded.

18 An apparent reference to the pudenda or private parts, particularly the lower abdomen.

19 Bini, pp. 465–6, referring to James of Monte Cucchio grand preceptor in the papal state and Abruzzi and a previous preceptor in the region, William, probably William of Nove; and below to John de la Campagna, Hugo of Monte Bello in Piacenza, and John of Cervieri, Brother Bartholomew and James of Modena in Bologna.

20 Agreed to by witnesses 2 and 4; suggested by witness 3.

21 Agreed to by witness 2.

22 Bini, pp. 166–7, which does not give the names of the men or the date on which this happened.

23 Similar statement made by witness 2.

24 Witness 3 stated that chapter meetings occurred at the hour of prime, sometimes at night, or at dawn, or even in the morning: Bini, p. 484. Italian witnesses, like those elsewhere, affirmed that non-Templars were excluded from chapter meetings or receptions.

he told inquisitors that a certain 'germanum suum' who had belonged to the order subsequently transferred to the Cistercians, presumably because of his unhappiness with the Templars.<sup>25</sup> His testimony and that of others in Florence stated that brethren could confess to priests from various other orders when necessary.

The second witness, Brother Bernard of Parma, testified on 14 September in the tenth induction.<sup>26</sup> Would they have waited almost one year to take the rest of the testimony? It is possible that the notary intended to write 24 September, which was the first day of the new induction in that area. In the next paragraph, the date of 27 September is stipulated along with the information that the witness was called to give evidence about a confession which he had already made. Bernard's testimony about the denial of Christ, spitting and trampling on the cross and the absence of the possibility of salvation resembled that of Egidius. When discussing his reception, he too implicated Brother Blancus de Pighazzano, grand preceptor of Lombardy and Tuscany, and other named Templars from the district of Parma. His only other attendance at a reception had taken place in Bologna sixteen years earlier. All these terrible things were done in vituperation of Christ and the faith. He believed that those who did such things participated freely in the commission of evil. Such persons, he opined, did not believe in the sacraments of the Church. Although Brother Gandulf, preceptor in Florence, said that the grand master could absolve brethren from sin, Bernard did not believe it. According to this witness, brothers wishing absolution would be asked to come forward during chapter meetings to ask for mercy from the presiding officer with these words: '[C]hi a nium Piccier vegna davanti e chiami merze e serà asoluto.'<sup>27</sup> The witness had seen this improper ritual performed. He stated the truth when he responded that the order did not have a novitiate, but admitted men as fully professed brothers after their reception. On the matter of same-sex relations, he admitted, as did most confessing guilt, that he had been told that such carnal relations were licit and not sinful. His testimony relating to idolatry centred on an image which did not appear to be that of Christ, the Virgin or any of the saints. It was declared to be the true god and the true 'maguineth'.<sup>28</sup> Several named brethren participated in this ritual of idolatry. This idol was said to have given the order all the wealth it possessed; it could save them, and make trees flower and germinate as stated in accusations 56 and 57. When asked why he and others had not left the order after seeing or participating in illicit behaviour, he stated that it would have been contrary to the vow they had taken at their reception.

The third witness, Guy de Cietica from Fiesole, preceptor of the house of Caporsoli, testified on 6 October, repeating his confession of the preceding day.<sup>29</sup>

25 Bini, p. 409. The testimony unfortunately gives no details.

26 See his testimony, Bini, pp. 470–78. This first interrogation was not written down.

27 Bini, p. 472. The third witness also believed that lay absolution occurred, stating that the master extended his hand performing a sort of absolution in chapter: Bini, p. 483. The fourth witness believed that lay dignitaries of the order could absolve members from all sins through a special privilege: Bini, p. 487.

28 'Maguineth' is usually a deformation of 'Bahomet' or Muhammad.

29 Bini, pp. 478–85.

About ten years earlier, one year after his reception, he had attended a meeting in Bologna at which he denied Christ, the Virgin and the saints. He was ordered to do this by James of Montecucco,<sup>30</sup> grand preceptor of Lombardy and Tuscany. He named a number of Templars who were present and who also participated in the denial, an act he had also seen performed in Piacenza six years earlier.<sup>31</sup> He attested other acts of sacrilege, and stated, without any direct evidence, that others urinated upon the cross and trampled it.<sup>32</sup> Guy offered a new item of data: in the month of May every year, brothers met in a provincial chapter at which they denied Christ and spat on the cross. This evidence is highly unusual and extremely unlikely. He insisted that kisses exchanged at reception were only on the mouth, as they should have been. Whilst he had never committed homosexual acts, he insisted that Brothers Harry of Panzano, William de Nove, Martin, preceptor of Pisa, Gandulf, preceptor of Florence, and Villanus, preceptor of Monte Lupo, were 'maxime subdomite'.<sup>33</sup> The present Brother Peter Reginus had previously, as a young man, been kept as his 'wife' by Brother 'G'.<sup>34</sup> Guy's information on idolatry resembled that of the previous witness. His description of the idol stated that it might have had a beard. It was 'of metal, with an almost human face, with black curly hair, and gilded about the neck and throat'.<sup>35</sup> He also alleged that several other idols existed in different Templar properties in Tuscany. His allegation that all other Templar houses had idols seems totally implausible given that none of the extant inventories of objects found in Templar properties listed any idols whatsoever.

The next witness, Nicholas Reginus, preceptor of the house of San Salvatore in Grosseto, testified on 11 October in the same place.<sup>36</sup> He had been received in Bologna about twelve years previously, with the usual denial. He said that between forty and fifty brothers were in attendance at the ceremony, which was presided over by William of Nove, indicating that there were a considerable number of Templars in Italy. Similar denials took place at another reception he had witnessed seven or eight years before. He too alleged he had been told to have faith not in Christ, but in the powers of a head, adored as God. He maintained that brothers in attendance at a chapter meeting in Bologna worshipped a black cat which vanished an hour after it arrived. On the matter of punishment for disobedient Templars, Nicholas said that those who refused to commit illicit acts were killed or exiled to places such as

30 Also written Monte Cucchio. He was diligently sought in the trial in the papal state in 1310. At that time he was *magnus preceptor* of the papal state, Apulia, Abruzzi, Marittima, and Campania. He was never located.

31 Once again, he names those present.

32 Similar testimony was given by the fourth witness, who also said that brothers in Campania gathered on Good Friday to trample and urinate upon the cross: Bini, p. 486.

33 Bini, p. 491.

34 Ibid.

35 Ibid., p. 482. See also the testimony of witnesses 4 and 6, who described a similar idol.

36 See his testimony, Bini, pp. 485-91.

Sardinia to finish their days.<sup>37</sup> Brothers revealing the details of their receptions had their habits taken away and were sent to gaol. He had seen illicit acts performed, but did not say where.

Witness number five, Lanfranc of Florence,<sup>38</sup> had been received fifty years earlier, at which time he performed the usual denial.<sup>39</sup> He gave evidence of similar irregularities at chapters held in Bologna<sup>40</sup> and in Cerra in the diocese of Parma. He added the information that Templars wanting to quit the order could do so only if they entered a stricter one. With regard to homosexual practices, he insisted that any man guilty of this act lost the habit, since such acts were considered a sin. His description of the idol resembled that of witness three, but he added the information that its face looked human. He insisted that chapter meetings were held at dawn, not at night.<sup>41</sup> Unlike witnesses before him, he did not believe that lay brethren could absolve members from sin.<sup>42</sup>

The last witness, James of Pighazzano, testified in the episcopal palace on 24 October.<sup>43</sup> He named a number of brethren whose receptions he had seen, during which the denials of Christ, the Virgin and the saints, plus spitting on the cross, took place. His statements on idolatry closely resembled that of previous witnesses. He admitted that if a Templar chaplain was not available, men could confess to any priest. He considered, though without any direct evidence, that the named illicit acts took place throughout the order, including Cyprus and other overseas locations.

Unusually, only one notary in Florence attested the accuracy of the depositions there: a 'scriba publicus' of the archbishop of Pisa.<sup>44</sup> Surprisingly, the notary added that the tribunal had also heard the testimony of another seven Templars who, even though exposed to threats and torture, appear to have denied the allegations, or not to have been in the order long enough to know the 'secrets'.<sup>45</sup> The notary affirmed that the testimony of the six men related above had been given 'without any threat or torture'. Monsignor Bini added that the manuscript of the trial was completed by two seals stamped into wax, one round and the other oval.<sup>46</sup>

In the papal state, Apulia and Abruzzi, the trial of the Templars was a much more formalized procedure that spanned a much wider territory and occurred over a longer period. At all times, four notaries were present at hearings, along with an impressive number of witnesses called not to testify, but to listen to the testimony or to respond to questions about Templars or their property. These men included

37 *Ibid.*, p. 488.

38 See his testimony in *ibid.*, pp. 491–5.

39 He gave the names of some of the brothers present: *ibid.*, p. 492.

40 In the presence of 50 brothers: *ibid.*, p. 492.

41 Similar testimony came from witness 6 and Ceccus in the papal state.

42 Witness 6 disagreed, suggesting that the master could absolve men even from sins that they had not confessed.

43 See his testimony in *ibid.*, pp. 495–500.

44 *Ibid.*, p. 500.

45 'eosdem exposuerimus coationibus [sic] et tormentis': *ibid.*, p. 501.

46 *Ibid.*

a total of 283 men, members of various religious orders, 42 clerics identified as abbots, priors, sub-priors, presbyter or sub-presbyter, 10 vicars, mostly associated with the 7 bishops mentioned, and 2 cardinal-bishops. In total, 23 *nuntii* and 13 notaries functioned under the direction of the two inquisitors, Pandulfus de Sabello and James, bishop of Sutri.<sup>47</sup> Pandulfus seems to have been the more important of the two inquisitors and to have set the itinerary. He came from a renowned Roman noble family which included Popes Honorius III and IV. Pandulfus left his mark in ecclesiastical documents from 1291, when he became provost at St Martin de Tours in Chablis and a papal chaplain; in 1303, he was appointed an apostolic notary. He frequently operated as a papal diplomat. He died in 1328. Many of the places where the travelling tribunal stayed were connected to his family: Albano, Castelgandolfo, Castel Fajola near Palombara, Tivoli, and various *palazzi* in Rome, one on the Aventine.<sup>48</sup> Many of the *nuntii*, non-Templar witnesses and other officials were his associates. Bishop James of Sutri appears not to have left an extensive extant record. He became bishop on 16 May 1290, and held office until 1325. In 1303, James became Benedict XI's vicar in Rome. The pope described his 'vita laudibili, fide probata, scientia et circumspectione ...', qualities that later on made him a good choice as a qualified inquisitor.<sup>49</sup>

The inquiry began in earnest in the great Templar church of Santa Maria in Aventino in Rome in September or October 1309.<sup>50</sup> The early months of this inquiry were taken up with the endless posting of accusations in or on churches in the area, demanding that the local grand preceptor, James of Montecucco, and other Templars appear, and asking whether any others knew anything about the order or its members. After a considerable number of meetings in autumn 1309, the inquisitors sent messengers to the papal prison in Viterbo, where the first five Templars to testify were already imprisoned. The prisoners were asked whether they wished to defend the order. They declined.<sup>51</sup> Months later, in April 1310 in Collemaggio in Aquila, the inquisitors began one of several interrogations of non-Templars. None of these enquiries yielded any useful results, because those questioned appeared to be totally ignorant of the Templars and their properties in the area.<sup>52</sup> Templars had, in fact, been implanted in Italy since 1135.<sup>53</sup> Continuing with the same game plan, in Penna on 22 April 1310, messengers were sent to the two Templars in prison there, asking whether they wished to defend the order. They too declined to do so.

47 'Sabello' may also be written 'Savello'. See *Papal State*, ed. AGB, p. 29.

48 Information from *ibid.*, pp. 31–2.

49 See C. Grandjean, ed., *Le Registre de Benoît XI* (Paris, 1883–1905), no. 96.

50 *Papal State*, ed. AGB, pp. 72–85.

51 We have no information on precisely what happened; see *ibid.*, p. 33.

52 *Ibid.*

53 On the Templars in Italy, see Demurger, *Les Templiers*, pp. 157–8; M. Barber, *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 245; F. Bramato, *Storia dell'ordine dei Templari in Italia* (Rome, 1991).

By 28 April 1310, interrogations had begun with Ceccus, a serving brother, in the city of Penna.<sup>54</sup> Like other witnesses in this trial, Ceccus gave evidence on the men who were or had been grand preceptors in the area.<sup>55</sup> The latter was described by him as 'Roma, Maritima, Campania, Patrimonium beati Petri in Tuscia, Lombardia, Marcha Anconitana et ducatus Spoletanus'.<sup>56</sup> He stated correctly that the man currently holding the office was James of Montecucco, whom he had seen in Perugia. Ceccus's testimony is important for many reasons, including the fact that he was received in the Lateran Palace in Rome in the presence of, among others, Peter of Bologna, who was the order's procurator in Rome and one of its principal defenders.<sup>57</sup> No illicit acts whatsoever happened during the official reception. It was three or four years later that Ceccus was sent off to Apulia, where, in the Templar house of Torremaggiore, Peter Ultramontanus, grand preceptor of Apulia and Abruzzi, allegedly showed Ceccus various treasures and jewels in a locked secret place. Peter told Ceccus that he had been received in a place (the Lateran Palace) where illicit acts could not take place. At the point of a sword, and after being threatened with death, Ceccus agreed to deny Christ and to adore the idol presented to him.<sup>58</sup> He had been told that he should entrust himself to this idol and ask it to provide him with 'health, money, horses, and the love of his God'.<sup>59</sup> The grand preceptor and William Ultramontanus then told him: 'What you have just done is what a brave man ought to do.'<sup>60</sup> He had seen at least one other reception at which nothing illicit took place. Six months later, one of these brothers, Andrew by name, was taken aside by two Templar brothers, one called Richard Gallicus and the other an unnamed Burgundian, into a private room. Andrew, who had entered the room happily, returned weeping. The presumption is that he too had been forced into illicit acts.<sup>61</sup>

In spite of his actions, Ceccus maintained that he had always believed in the sacraments, and still did so.<sup>62</sup> He felt that the men who had forced the illicit acts upon him, however, did not believe in salvation by Christ or in the sacraments. He had left the order two months after his adoration of the idol because of guilt over what

54 See his testimony in *Papal State*, ed. AGB, pp. 130–44.

55 All witnesses in this hearing identified various men as regional grand preceptors providing valuable information on the area.

56 *Papal State*, ed. AGB, p. 131.

57 *Ibid.*, p. 132, and for the main statement defending the order, Michelet, ed., *Le Procès*, 1.165–9.

58 For this episode, see *Papal State*, ed. AGB, pp. 133–4, with text at 139: 'Nisi sic facias ut tibi diximus et nos fecimus, non recedes vivus de loco isto.' Later, he said that the idol had only one face: *ibid.*, p. 138. Like those in Florence, he alleged that the cord was touched to the idol: *ibid.*

59 *Ibid.*

60 *Ibid.*, p. 134.

61 *Ibid.*

62 Agreed to by witness 2 and virtually every witness everywhere.

he had done.<sup>63</sup> His evidence on lay absolution mirrored that heard in Florence.<sup>64</sup> He knew nothing about illicit kisses. He related that nine years previously, the former count of Chieti, Philip, asked him why on earth the Templars held their receptions in secret, asserting that this astonished people.<sup>65</sup> Before Ceccus had seen the idol, he asked two Templars in Barletta why they wore the cord, which had allegedly touched an idol, over their shirt.<sup>66</sup> The response was: 'In order to mortify our flesh and in reverence to our Lord God.' It is difficult or impossible to understand that response if, in fact, Italian Templars were routinely denying the divinity of Christ and worshipping idols.

Andrew Armanni of Mount Oderisio,<sup>67</sup> witness two, was heard in the bishop's palace in Chieti on 11 May. We learn that a messenger had publicly proclaimed the fact that anyone who wished to attend the hearing on behalf of the grand preceptor or the order was welcome to come and see Andrew taking the oath. No one appeared. Andrew described his reception in Barletta as taking place in a closed room along with 16 brothers of the Temple. He promised obedience, poverty and chastity, and never to leave the order, and was then given the habit and kissed only on the mouth.<sup>68</sup> Then, like others, Andrew was led apart with a select group of the brothers and told that there was no hope of salvation by Christ, who was not the true God, and ordered to perform the denial, which he did out of fear of imminent death. He also spat on the cross and trampled it when ordered to. He said that he and the other brothers in the secret room exchanged kisses on the backside.<sup>69</sup> On the matter of same-sex acts, Andrew insisted that the grand preceptor who received him, and other important brethren, 'had boys with whom they had sex'.<sup>70</sup> His description of the idol shown to him noted that it was 'cubitalis' with three heads.<sup>71</sup> He worshipped it, as did the others, because of his condition of terror. When describing the reception of Brother Montanarius in Barletta, following the secret portion of the ceremony which Andrew had not witnessed, Montanarius said: 'How wretched that we lose our souls for committing such acts!' Andreas responded: 'We do what all the brothers of the order have to do.'<sup>72</sup>

Italian Templars, like those everywhere, admitted that the order did hand out charity at least three times a week. Andrew specified that in Barletta, alms were

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63 *Ibid.*, p. 140.

64 As did that of Andrew Armanni.

65 *Papal State*, ed. AGB, p. 137 and n. 35, giving papal register references for Philip.

66 *Ibid.*, p.139.

67 A place where the Templars held property: see *ibid.*, p. 145 n. 2, and pp. 145–57 for his testimony.

68 *Ibid.*, p. 147. A similar statement was made by witnesses 3, 4 and 5.

69 *Ibid.*, p. 149: 'in ano'. The testimony of many other witnesses suggests that this kiss was usually performed on a clothed, or semi-clothed, man in the region of the anus, but clearly not usually on it.

70 *Ibid.*, p. 149: 'habebant pueros quibus se carnaliter commiscebant'.

71 *Ibid.*

72 *Ibid.*, p. 151.

distributed each Sunday, Tuesday and Thursday, in the form of 'bread and leftovers from the brothers' table'. He was unsure whether charity was distributed as it should have been, since he appeared ignorant of the rules.<sup>73</sup> He added correctly that hospitality was not a requirement, and that when 'any "familiar" of the brothers fell ill, he was transferred from the house to a hospice because the order did not have one.<sup>74</sup> Since his mind was obviously very troubled by what he had done, Andrew left the Order only eight or nine months after his reception on account of the illicit acts required of him. He added that several others left as well, though he was not sure why they had done so.<sup>75</sup> He informed the inquisitors that he had been married before joining the order, but that he had renounced his wife and received her permission to join.<sup>76</sup> Whilst brother Ceccus appeared to have confirmed the accuracy of his testimony immediately after giving it, in Andrew's case there was an interval of several days between the deposition and its confirmation on 14 May, at which time he, like the other witnesses with the exception of Ceccus, said that he had testified voluntarily and without coercion.<sup>77</sup> Finally, to end this portion of the hearing, the four notaries made their official declarations and signed the parchment:

Surprisingly, at this late date, 23 May 1310, in Santa Maria in Aventino, the inquisitors met together with a dozen clerical observers to hear how the enquiry was proceeding, to make a reading of the papal bull 'Faciens misericordiam', and to see it posted.<sup>78</sup> The officials stated that as no Templars had been captured in Abruzzi, and since no one had come forward to offer information about them, the official group would travel to Viterbo to examine the prisoners who were detained there. By 28 May, Pandulfus de Sabello and his functionaries had arrived and were established in the bishop's palace. Two messengers were sent to tell four Templars, who became witnesses three to six, that they were cited to appear before the tribunal.<sup>79</sup> By the next day, the inquisitors were notified that none of the four prisoners wanted to defend the order or the grand preceptor. Matthew of Cavellutis, Pandulfus's chaplain, went to the church of Santa Maria de Carbonaria, where he read the citations in front of a group of men and women. Other procedural matters took up time, but without result, and on 7 June the first witness appeared.

73 Ibid., p. 153. Article 29 of the Primitive Rule stipulated: 'Let the remains of the broken bread be given to the poor and whole loaves be kept ... We ordain that a tenth part of the bread be given to your Almoner': J. Upton-Ward, ed., *The Rule of the Templars* (Woodbridge, 1992), p. 27, and see index, p. 193, for other references to alms-giving.

74 *Papal State*, ed. AGB, p. 153.

75 Ibid., pp. 152, 155.

76 Ibid., p. 156.

77 This formulaic statement does not, unfortunately, guarantee that torture was not used. See, among others, L. Tanon, *Histoire des tribunaux de l'Inquisition en France* (Paris, 1893), pp. 377, 379.

78 The bull dates from 12 August 1308, and may be seen in Michelet, ed., *Le Procès, 1.2-7*, as well as in the papal register.

79 *Papal State*, ed. AGB, pp. 163-4.

William of Verduno, a Templar priest, began with the litany of names of present and former grand preceptors.<sup>80</sup> Nothing illicit happened at his reception, but some time later, in Rome at Santa Maria in Aventino, two brothers, William and Dominic, took him aside into a room in which shoes were made, closing the door behind them. Faced with threats and a drawn sword, William performed the denial of Christ.<sup>81</sup> He insisted that no one had ever told him, nor ordered him to believe, that Christ was a false prophet who did not die for our sins. He 'had and still has hope of gaining salvation through Jesus'.<sup>82</sup> He stressed that he spat into the air, and not upon the crucifix handed to him. When he refused to trample the cross as directed, William of Pede Montis 'made a cross on the ground out of two straws and ordered him that unless he trampled the cross of straw, they would kill him'. Not surprisingly, he obeyed.<sup>83</sup> He had never seen any group of Templars trample the cross on Good Friday, as allegations claimed.<sup>84</sup> He never saw anyone worship a cat. He believed that those responsible for illicit acts lacked belief in the sacraments, belief that he had held since the age of discretion.<sup>85</sup> He insisted that although William and Dominic ordered him to omit the words of consecration of the body of Christ when saying mass, he had never done so. The same two men had told him that the grand master and other dignitaries of the order could absolve members from sin although they were laymen. He, however, never believed this. He had been told by the two men in charge of his secret reception that 'brothers of the order were permitted to have carnal relations with one another'.<sup>86</sup> He never did such a thing or knew of it taking place within the order. Although he had been told that adoring a head or idol was required, he never saw one. Concerning almsgiving, in the major house of Santa Maria in Aventino, William saw three paupers fed each morning, and three times each week alms were given out at the door to poor persons.<sup>87</sup> Neither he nor Ceccus had ever attended a chapter meeting, which was not surprising in the case of Ceccus, who only remained in the order for four years and was of low rank and status.<sup>88</sup> On the other hand, William, as a priest who was in the order for several years, should have attended such meetings. William confirmed what virtually every Templar everywhere said: what happened in chapter meetings must be kept secret. He said that Huguitio de

80 See his testimony, *ibid.*, pp. 173-86.

81 *Ibid.*, pp. 173-4. He later stated that only the threat of death impelled him to perform illicit acts: *ibid.*, p. 179.

82 *Ibid.*, p. 174.

83 *Ibid.*, p. 175.

84 *Ibid.*, p. 191. The fourth, fifth and sixth witnesses also denied any such behaviour on holy days.

85 '... postquam ad annos discretionis pervenit ...': *ibid.*, p. 176.

86 '... fratres dicti ordinis poterant se licite unus cum alio carnaliter commiscere': *ibid.*, p. 178.

87 *Ibid.*, p. 184.

88 *Ibid.*, pp. 142, 184. See Upton-Ward, ed., *Rule*, statute 396, insisting that all brothers must attend chapter meetings unless confined to the infirmary. Chapter meetings are discussed in Barber, *The New Knighthood*, p. 184, and briefly elsewhere: see the index.

Vercellis, then grand preceptor, told him: 'Keep your chapter meeting secret.'<sup>89</sup> In common with other Templar scholars, I believe that this secrecy, something common to most religious orders, came from the fact that brothers confessed their sins or faults against the rule during the meeting, and were awarded punishments. This disciplinary practice was not one which members were allowed to discuss.<sup>90</sup> Unlike some brothers noted above, William did not know that any Templar had left the order on account of its illicit practices.

Gerard of Piacenza, a serving brother, testified next, probably on the same day.<sup>91</sup> His reception in the church of Santa Maria of Piacenza, a Templar property, was perfectly licit and normal. But later on that day, Gerard and another man received with him were taken into a room, the door closed, and told by brother Blancus: 'You must do what we do and what other brothers of the order do, namely, to deny Christ and not to believe in him as [he was] a false prophet crucified for his sins.'<sup>92</sup> He described an idol seen there which was 'cubitalis', made of wood, with one face. He had no idea what god the idol was supposed to represent.<sup>93</sup> He saw two other brothers received, apparently in the same manner. They received the same injunction from Brother Blancus that he had received. Rather oddly, he insisted that he had never been ordered not to reveal what occurred at reception under threat of death or gaol.<sup>94</sup> On the subject of same-sex acts, Gerard said that he had been told by Albert of Castro Alquattro, a Templar property, who was staying in another Templar property called St Lawrence in Castel Campanile, that James of Bologna, vicar of James of Montecucco, united carnally with Templar Brother Manfred of Bagnoregio.<sup>95</sup> He was told to confess to brothers of Carmel if a Templar chaplain was unavailable, which was often the case. He had confessed his sins at reception to one of the order's priests three days later, but did not specify what penance he had received.<sup>96</sup> Gerard had no idea when the errors began in the order: before or after its approval by the Holy See and the ratification of its Rule by the council of Troyes in 1129.<sup>97</sup> He confirmed his deposition seemingly on the same day, and it was followed by the notaries' confirmation of the proceedings.

89 'Tene celatu tuo capitulo': *Papal State*, ed. AGB, p. 184.

90 See Barber, *The New Knighthood*, p. 184; Gilmour-Bryson, *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus*, p. 31.

91 See his testimony, *Papal State*, ed. AGB, pp. 187–99.

92 Ibid., p. 190. Like the others, he said that he believed in the sacraments and performed illicit acts out of fear. Hugo, in Brindisi, gave similar evidence: Schottmuller 2.134.

93 *Papal State*, ed. AGB, p. 193.

94 Similar evidence was given by Vivolus: *ibid.*, p. 219.

95 *Ibid.*, p. 193.

96 *Ibid.*, p. 195. Vivolus said that men could confess to any chaplain if necessary: *ibid.*, p. 219. The seventh witness agreed with Vivolus's statement: *ibid.*, p. 257.

97 The most recent scholarship on the order's origins can be found in Demurger, *Les Templiers*, pp. 51–78.

The fifth witness in Viterbo was Peter Valentini, another serving brother, who testified on 10 June.<sup>98</sup> He entered the order at the time of Pope Nicholas III, 1277–80, received by Brother Blancus in Santa Maria in Aventino. He affirmed that after Blancus's death, William Provintialis took over, who, like his brother, Peter, died 'ultra montes'. Arthur of Pocapalgia was next, dying in Viterbo, followed by William of Cannellis, about whom we have heard, and then Hugo of Vercellis, who succeeded William.<sup>99</sup> Peter's denial of Christ resembled almost exactly the tale told by the previous witness. He believed that new members all performed the denial, as he did, through fear. He described the reception of two brothers in Santa Maria in Capite at which the same illicit acts took place. Interestingly, he also attended a reception in the area of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome which took place by night in the dwelling of Brother Morus, grand preceptor of the area stretching from Rome to Ceperanium. The reception proceeded just as it should have according to Templar liturgy, but on the following day, when Brother Morus was about to leave with the Roman curia, his superior said to Dominic, the newly received brother: 'You must follow and carry out everything which the dignitaries and senior members of the order instruct or command you to do.'<sup>100</sup> This injunction is ambiguous: was Dominic told to obey everything his superiors told him to do, a reasonable expectation, or was he told to obey even an illicit order?

At illicit receptions that Peter had attended, including his own, brothers were told to spit on the cross. Incredibly, he could not remember whether he had done this. They were also ordered to trample the cross. He and other brothers adored a wooden idol in three locations: Castro Araldi, Santa Maria in Capite, and Santa Maria in Aventino.<sup>101</sup> He emphasized that he and the other brothers whose receptions he witnessed had been terrorized and tongue-lashed, though without the use of weapons, to force them to perform illicit acts.<sup>102</sup> He stressed that he had seen improper behaviour at receptions for more than thirty years, but his only evidence related to his own initiation and that of the three other men he had seen received. His only evidence regarding the time of chapter meetings affirmed that they were held early in the morning after matins, not at any night-time hour.<sup>103</sup> He also denied the notion that lay senior members of the order could absolve from sin. He confirmed his deposition before the notaries on the same day.

Vivulus de comitatu Peruscii, a serving brother, came next.<sup>104</sup> As usual, nobody from the area chose to come forward to hear him take the oath. His evidence on grand preceptors in the area confirmed that of others. He swore that he performed no denial whatsoever of Christ, God, the Virgin or the saints, nor had he heard of

98 His testimony is in *Papal State*, ed. AGB, pp. 200–12.

99 *Papal State*, ed. AGB, pp. 201–2.

100 *Ibid.*, p. 203 and n. 10.

101 *Ibid.*, p. 207.

102 *Ibid.*, p. 208.

103 The following witness also stated that a chapter meeting in Viterbo began after matins and lasted until the hour of mass: *ibid.*, p. 221.

104 See his testimony in *ibid.*, pp. 213–27.

any such act.<sup>105</sup> After his licit reception, none the less, he was led apart by Hugo of Vercellis's vicar and ordered to spit upon, and to trample, the cross. He refused the order to kiss his receptor 'in ano', but did agree to kiss him on the navel and nude chest.<sup>106</sup> He was told that brethren could have sex with one another, but offered no evidence on the subject. He swore that he and other brothers venerated a white idol with a human face.<sup>107</sup> Just as the preceding witness had done, he had confessed his sins to a Templar chaplain and received absolution. He declared that he had never been overseas, as did the others in this hearing. One of the very useful features of this inquiry is the amount of evidence it provides of the names of members of the order, and of Templar properties located in a large area of Italy. Vivolus mentioned having seen charity distributed in Santa Maria in Capite, Santa Sabina of Tuscanella, San Julio of Orvieto, Burleo in the diocese of Viterbo, Sant'Eramo and Pingiocius which depended on Santa Maria in Aventino, San Bevignate and San Giustino in the county of Perugia, and in Santa Maria in Aventino itself.<sup>108</sup> He had also seen many persons given hospitality in the order's properties. He had himself been a *familiaris*, or dependent, of the order at San Bevignate before he joined the Templars. Vivolus confirmed his testimony on the same day. On 17 June, still in the bishop's palace in Viterbo, a group of Franciscans and Dominicans, in the presence of the notaries, examined the notarized depositions. William, Gerard and Peter confirmed their previous testimony. Two days later, Vivolus performed the same formulaic act, insisting as they had that his deposition had been given intentionally and truthfully.<sup>109</sup> On 21 June, the men reappeared, this time in front of Archbishop Consilius of Conza, several Dominicans and Franciscans, the local prior of the Augustinians and various other members of the clergy gathered in the bishop's palace at the request of the inquisitors. The four witnesses again affirmed that the depositions were true and correct as written.<sup>110</sup> The penalty for recanting was extremely severe.

The inquiry then moved on to the Marittima and Campania.<sup>111</sup> In spite of the sending out of notaries and messengers, tacking up citations on church doors or walls and asking questions of local bishops and other clerics, no information about the order of the Temple or its members was received. Once again, Clement V's bull 'Faciens misericordiam' was read out without result. On 17 July, in the bishop's palace in Velletri and in the city of Segni, non-Templar witnesses were examined about the whereabouts of Templars or their property in the region. None of the witnesses professed any knowledge of members of the order or of any property belonging to them, impossible as this may seem. By 21 July, the inquisitorial party was established in one of Pandulfus de Sabello's properties in Tivoli, where they

105 *Ibid.*, p. 214.

106 *Ibid.*, p. 217.

107 *Ibid.*, p. 218.

108 *Ibid.*, p. 221.

109 *Ibid.*, p. 225.

110 *Ibid.*, pp. 225-7.

111 A considerable number of place names and the names of local prelates and clergy are given in this section: *ibid.*, pp. 228-39.

notified all concerned that they intended to move on to Palombara Sabina, where Pandulfus's family had a castle.<sup>112</sup> On 27 July, the last witness, a serving brother called Walter of John of Naples ('Gualterii Iohannis de Napoli') gave his testimony.<sup>113</sup> He told the now familiar story of being taken aside, in his case not by the receiver, but by the preceptor of Castro Araldi, several days after the reception, at which time he was menaced prior to his performing the denial of Christ and spitting on the cross.<sup>114</sup> In an episode similar to that of Peter Valentini, he overheard James of Monte Cucchio telling newly received brothers that they must obey all commands given by the order's senior members.<sup>115</sup> As before, there is no clarification as to the exact meaning of this command. Walter's answers regarding accusations 24–27 illustrate the confusion that many serving brothers throughout Christendom manifested with regard to precisely what powers of absolution were held by Templar dignitaries. He said that he believed that 'preceptors receiving brothers into the order absolved them of all confessed sins committed from the time of baptism until the hour of reception from a privilege of the Apostolic See'.<sup>116</sup> It is unclear to whom this litany of sins was confessed, and if it was to a Templar chaplain, why he would not have granted absolution himself. Brother Hugo, who received Walter, had absolved him and given him a penance, to fast each Saturday on bread and water.<sup>117</sup> Although he had been told to kiss brother Albert on the nude stomach, when he declined to do so, he was spared this act, allegedly because persons living near Castro Araldi might hear the commotion, a highly unlikely suggestion.<sup>118</sup> When he asked Brother Albert in whom he should believe if not in Christ, Albert said to him: 'In the great god whom the Saracens adore.'<sup>119</sup> Walter did not seem to know what this response meant, adding that he believed in God, the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, who were 'three Gods and not one ...'.<sup>120</sup> At no time, however, did he see an idol. He had confessed his sins to a secular priest and left the order three years earlier because of the errors. He added that his leaving came about only after the news emerged about the Templars, saying that the denial of Christ, spitting on the cross and adoration of an idol were public knowledge.<sup>121</sup> He confirmed his testimony on 28 July. As was the case with non-learned witnesses, his answers were read back to him 'in suo vulgari', and not in Latin. All four notaries then confirmed the depositions and the accuracy with which they were written down, affixing hand-drawn notarial seals to the parchment.<sup>122</sup>

112 *Ibid.*, p. 246, especially notes 34 and 35.

113 *See ibid.*, pp. 248–60.

114 He denied trampling the cross, and never heard that it took place. He explained later that he had been threatened with death: *ibid.*, p. 256.

115 *See ibid.*, p. 252.

116 *Ibid.*, p. 253.

117 *Ibid.*, p. 254. He believed others had been absolved by James of Monte Cucchio.

118 Schottmüller 2.128. Witness 1 also participated in illicit kisses.

119 *Papal State*, ed. AGB, p. 255.

120 *Ibid.*

121 *Ibid.*, p. 259.

122 My edition was made from ASV MS Archivio Castel Sant'Angelo, D-207.

The hearing in Brindisi, which began on 15 May 1310, was supposed to take depositions concerning the order and Brother Odo de Valdric, a Templar knight and grand preceptor in the kingdom of Sicily. It sat under the direction of Bartholomew, archbishop of Brindisi. The archbishop of Naples, who should have been there, had been excused. A papal chaplain and a canon of Santa Maria Maggiore were present.<sup>123</sup> 'Faciens misericordiam' was read out, along with other papal letters. The entire list of 127 articles of accusation was presented.<sup>124</sup> Anyone with evidence to offer was cited to appear on 22 May, but no one came forward.

The tribunal began hearing testimony on 4 June, taking depositions from only two witnesses, serving brothers John of Neritone and Hugo of Samaya, in a room of the palace of a royal castle in Brindisi. John had been received in the Templar property in Barletta by Raynald of Vareña, a knight, then grand preceptor of the kingdom of Sicily.<sup>125</sup> He named several brothers who had been present at his reception. He stated that the chaplain, Hippolitus, held out a silver cross to him and to John of Calabria, who was received with him, asking them: 'Do you believe in this cross?' The two men told the chaplain that they did believe in it.<sup>126</sup> Raynald then said that it was lunch-time, and that the men should go and eat, giving the impression that the denial was not a very serious matter. Later that day, in a different room and in Raynald's absence, the two new brothers were told to deny the cross and to trample it, as did various Templars present. Hippolitus, and some other brethren, then urinated on the cross. John of Neritone escaped this act with the ingenious response that he could not urinate because he had done so shortly before.<sup>127</sup> John went on to describe a grey or dapple-grey cat which he saw at a chapter meeting later that year, still in Barletta. All the men present rose to their feet, removed their head covering, and bowed to the animal.<sup>128</sup> As one might expect, John insisted to the inquisitors that he believed in all the Church's sacraments, and that he had committed the illicit acts unwillingly. He gave a more elaborate version of the lay absolution pronounced by Odo de Valdric at the end of chapter meetings. Odo said that if any of those present were afraid to confess their sins through shame or fear of Templar justice, then he would absolve them through the authority given him by God. He then beseeched God 'who saved Mary Magdalene and the thieves hanging on the cross ... and I ask God that he might save me and you'.<sup>129</sup>

123 Schottmüller 2.108.

124 *Ibid.* 2.119–24.

125 See his testimony in *ibid.* 2.125–32.

126 *Ibid.* 2.125.

127 *Ibid.* 2.126.

128 John did not yet have a head-covering, as he was a new member. He bowed nevertheless: *ibid.* 2.127.

129 *Ibid.* 2.127–8. Hugo, the following witness, gave similar evidence, insisting that the grand-master, the marshal of the order, or the 'preceptore terre ultramarine' used to pronounce absolution at the end of chapter meetings for those who were either ashamed to confess the sin (or fault) or feared retaliation by the order.

On the question of sodomy, John stated that he had heard that Hippolitus ordered his servant Dennis to allow him to commit this sin. His servant was captured and imprisoned on account of this.<sup>130</sup> This witness said that after his capture, unnamed persons told him on the subject of idolatry that 'Cathars of the order of the Temple had, and adored, an idol in Cyprus'.<sup>131</sup> Unfortunately, this matter was not followed up by the inquisitors. This man confirmed the shortage of Templar chaplains by saying that in the places to which he was sent, there were no priests of the order, hence he confessed to secular priests.<sup>132</sup> He added that he had little if any power in the order, since he was 'simplex et rusticus'.<sup>133</sup> One of the major problems in attempting to evaluate evidence in any Templar trial, other than that of Cyprus, is that only a small percentage of the witnesses were knights or held important offices. John explained that he confessed the sins related to his reception twelve days later to a Franciscan priest. He received a penance requiring him to fast every Friday of his life and to say 100 'Our Fathers' each day for one year. He said that he did not leave the order because he feared being captured and gaoled.

Hugo of Samaya, another serving brother, was the second and last witness in Brindisi. He had been preceptor of the Templar house of St George in that city.<sup>134</sup> He had been received in Fontanay, about half-way between Dijon and Auxerre. Nothing illicit occurred. Subsequently, apparently in the same year, he was sent overseas to Cyprus, where he was a brother in the Templar property in Limassol for six years. He was out one day horseback riding with a Templar knight called Geoffrey, who told him that he had to deny the cross. Hugo said that after he had been transferred to their property of Chirochitia, Geoffrey and about ten other brethren, some of them knights and some serving brothers, arrived there. Geoffrey entered Hugo's room one night, rousing him from sleep, and insisted that he deny a cross that he drew on the floor. Hugo complied because of the fear he felt of the other nine Templars who were still in the house. On a later day, Geoffrey told Hugo that the brethren performed the denial as a principle of belonging to the order.<sup>135</sup> Hugo confessed to a visiting Franciscan, who pronounced absolution and a penance of fasting for ten Fridays on bread and water, together with the offering of alms. Hugo served in Cyprus for a further six years. He added that lay senior members of the order pronounced absolution in chapter meetings, although he knew that laymen could not pronounce absolution 'unless they held authority and a licence from the lord pope'.<sup>136</sup> Hugo alleged that he saw two heads, decorated with silver, kept in the church of the

<sup>130</sup> Ibid. 2.128; A. Gilmour-Bryson, 'Sodomy and the Knights Templar', *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 7 (1996), p. 172.

<sup>131</sup> Schottmüller 2.129. The word used here, 'paterenis', usually refers to Cathars in an Italian context. See P. Sella, *Glossario latino italiano. Stato della chiesa – Veneto Abruzzi* (Città del Vaticano, 1965), p. 418.

<sup>132</sup> Schottmüller 2.129.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid. 2.130.

<sup>134</sup> See his testimony: ibid. 2.132–8.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid. 2.133.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid. 2.135.

Templar house in Nicosia. One of them was supposedly the head of St Euphemia. He could not remember whom the other head represented.<sup>137</sup> These may well have been relics rather than idols. We need to remember that none of the 76 Templars who were interrogated in Cyprus confessed any guilt whatsoever, nor did the many clerics, nobles and merchants who were called to testify about the order in Cyprus describe any illicit actions of any sort.<sup>138</sup> Neither of the witnesses in Brindisi reappeared to confirm their testimony as they should have. The document was authenticated by the two notaries, presumably on the same day since no other date was specified.

It is possible to form certain conclusions from the extant Italian trial evidence. These hearings heard testimony from just 15 men, three of them apostates, only one a priest, and none of them a knight or important official. Obviously, all Italian knights, and most of the brothers, managed to escape before the arrests. Italian clerics questioned about the existence of any Templars or their property in their area unanimously denied any knowledge, possibly indicating they were not hostile to the order. The depositions appear to confirm the notion that some peculiar and improper acts may have taken place at, or more often after, reception, exactly as alleged. On the other hand, it also appears that these men had very likely been subject to torture.<sup>139</sup> The various versions of the appearance of the idol, or cat, sound as though the witnesses had quite simply invented a description of something they had never seen. In consequence, we cannot pronounce definitively on guilt or innocence on the basis of such testimony alone. It is obvious that whether or not these men denied Christ, trampled on some form of cross, and/or spat on or near it, they were not heretics in any substantive sense. They did not profess any belief in any other cult, sect or alternative religion. In general, they felt considerable guilt about their actions, and they often confessed to chaplains or priests, performing whatever form of penance was required of them. They were neither evil men nor heretics, but normal Christians believing in the sacraments.

These hearings enrich our knowledge of the order of the Temple in Italy, furnishing us with a significant number of named individuals and an equally large number of properties. A definitive scholarly history of the Templars in Italy is not generally available.<sup>140</sup> We can see from this evidence that Italian Templars did not generally move around outside their own country. Only one man had been overseas, and he only travelled as far as Cyprus. More importantly, this testimony is rich in what appears to be a faithful recital of actual comments made by members of the

<sup>137</sup> Ibid. 2.136, including hearsay evidence about another head that he had not seen.

<sup>138</sup> See Gilmour-Bryson, *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus*.

<sup>139</sup> Monsignor Bini did not believe that these confessions were extracted through torture: Bini, p. 427.

<sup>140</sup> See L. Avonto, *I templari in Piemonte* (Vercelli, revised edn, 1982); F. Bramato, *Storia dell'ordine dei Templari in Italia*, vol. 1 (Rome, 1991), particularly useful for its lists of properties, and vol. 2, which I have not yet seen. See also B. Frale, *L'ultima battaglia dei Templari* (Rome, 2001), and *Il papato e il processo ai Templari* (Rome, 2003), which should be used with caution. There are a large number of non-scholarly or popular books in Italian, as in French, on the order and its suppression.

order to one another. By reading this material, we have, in a sense, listened in to a slice of Italian Templar life. It allows us to form a much better understanding of these men and their world.

## Chapter 17

# The Last Master of the Temple: James of Molay

Sophia Menache

In one of his early publications, Malcolm Barber threw light on the different and sometimes contradictory sources on the last master of the Temple, James of Molay.<sup>1</sup> Barber presented in a very succinct but enlightening manner the few biographical facts known about the master's career, and discussed his ambiguous influence on the tragic process that brought about the dissolution of the order. James of Molay emerges in this account as a quite effective administrator during the first years of his mastership, which began in April 1292 or December 1293. Displaying diplomatic skills in his dealings with the leading rulers of Christendom, Pope Boniface VIII at their head, Molay's main goals during these early years were twofold: to renew the crusade, an imperative target after the fall of Acre, and to reform the order, thus weakening persistent rumours about misconduct in its ranks.<sup>2</sup> But Molay also appears as lacking in literary sophistication and ignorant of political circumstances in the west, missing qualities that became more crucial in his public functions. Moreover, his mastership was characterized by 'a failure to understand fundamental realities; a tendency to take situations at their face value'.<sup>3</sup> As for the last episode in the life of the master and of the order, Barber's conclusions are quite categorical:

James of Molay was an unsubtle man ... The Grand Master's plea that he was 'unlettered and poor' may have been mere rhetoric, but the fact remains that he did not have the mental resources to deal with the situation produced by the trial. He was little more than a pawn in the elaborate manoeuvres of the king of France and the pope. He was caught in circumstances he did not understand, in a world in which he had not been trained to operate. He understood the position in the east as well as any of the other leaders in Cyprus and he reacted to it in much the same way. But in the west the crusades no longer formed an important part of life ... In crude terms, the trial was an aspect of the conflict between the universal papacy and the incipient national monarchy. James of Molay and

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1 M. Barber, 'James of Molay, the Last Grand Master of the Order of the Temple', *Studia Monastica* 14 (1972), pp. 91–124.

2 Besides political considerations, the need for reform reflects a real concern that preceded Molay's election to the mastership. Following the loss of Acre, during a chapter meeting of the order in Cyprus, Molay called for the uprooting of the bad habits of some of its members. See M. Michelet, ed., *Procès des Templiers*, 2 vols (Paris, 1841–51), 2.139.

3 Barber, 'James of Molay', pp. 106–7.

his Order were the victims, as the papacy itself was later to be ... He never realised that he and his Order had become anachronisms in a changing world.<sup>4</sup>

The weight of changing circumstances that brought about the dissolution of the Temple was mentioned again in Barber's book devoted to the trial of the Templars. Discussing the master's surprising and ever-changing declarations, Barber referred to James of Molay as 'an old man, probably into his seventies [who] had spent nearly seven years in prison. The pathetic reliance which he had placed in papal judgment, even to the exclusion of some kind of defence of the Order, had failed him.'<sup>5</sup> Barber further emphasized the difficult circumstances in which the Temple operated after 1291, which made the order more vulnerable to criticism and, eventually, to dissolution. In his classic study on the history of the Temple, he concluded: 'Even so, it is clear that between 1291 and 1307 the Order attempted to fulfill its role in the conflict with the infidel as it had done in the past<sup>6</sup> and that contemporaries accepted it on these terms ... The failure of the Templars to live up to the superhuman standards of St. Bernard made the trial possible, but it was not in itself a cause of it.'<sup>7</sup>

Although Malcolm Barber became the leading authority in all matters relating to the Templars and their trial, the order – and particularly its master, James of Molay – became the focus of much interest at both the popular and the scholarly level. The Templars and their myth permeated western culture whilst posing a challenge that each generation has tried to cope with, as was convincingly revealed in the last chapter of *The New Knighthood*.<sup>8</sup> Historians, as well, have tried to decipher the puzzle of the dissolution of the Temple,<sup>9</sup> a process in which James of Molay was naturally involved and, in the eyes of some medievalists, played a most important role.<sup>10</sup> The question of the extent of James of Molay's responsibility for the dissolution of the order has been discussed time and again, with the master's different and conflicting

4 Ibid., p. 124.

5 M. Barber, *The Trial of the Templars* (Cambridge, 1978), p. 241.

6 On the first stages of the order, see M. Barber, 'The Origins of the Order of the Temple', *Studia Monastica* 12 (1970), pp. 219–40.

7 M. Barber, *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 294–5. See also M. Barber, 'The Social Context of the Templars', *TRHS* 5th ser. 34 (1984), pp. 28–46.

8 Barber, *The New Knighthood*, pp. 314–34.

9 On the rich bibliography on the Templars up to 1900, see G. Salvemini, 'L'abolizione dell'Ordine dei Templari', *Archivio storico italiano* 5th ser. 15 (1895), pp. 225–64.

10 In France alone, many monographs have been devoted to James of Molay; see, for example, J. Besson, *Etude sur Jacques de Molay* (Besançon, 1877); P. Dugueyst, *Essai sur Jacques de Molay* (Paris, 1906); P. Viollet, *Les interrogatoires de Molay* (Paris, 1909); V. Thomassin, *Jacques de Molay: dernier Gran Maître de l'ordre du Temple, Figures Comtoises* (Paris, 1912); L. Dailliez, *Jacques de Molay: dernier Maître du Temple* (Paris, 1974); S. Delmarti, *Jacques de Molay* (Paris, 1999).

confessions during the trial being revised from different angles. The question of the use of torture on James of Molay has also been investigated over and over again.<sup>11</sup>

Whilst recognizing that James of Molay 'was not as defeatist as has been made out', Partner blamed him, together with the other officials of the order, for the complete failure 'to give guidance or leadership to their brother Templars' during the critical stages of the trial.<sup>12</sup> Marie Luise Bulst-Thiele presents the master as an ambitious personality who expected to become grand master but, prior to his election, did not enjoy the confidence either of his predecessor or of the convent. She further concludes that the Hospitallers were saved from the destiny of the Templars thanks to the skills of their master, Fulk of Villaret, who had the energy, circumspection and wisdom that James of Molay allegedly lacked.<sup>13</sup> Helen Nicholson, on the other hand, relegated Molay to a secondary plane, referring to his policy as a continuation of that of his predecessors, and one that could have had a good chance of success had the circumstances been different:

As ever, the Order put its trust in kings and princes. If they had supported it as James de Molay hoped, the Order could have survived and continued its military activity in the East ... But in the West these kings and princes were either unable to save it (as in England and Aragon) or decided that more could be gained by attacking the Order than by supporting it (as in France); and in Cyprus, the murder of Amaury de Lusignan left the Order without a protector and open to the wrath of the returning King Henry II.<sup>14</sup>

James of Molay was reintegrated into the focus of scholarly interest in a new biography. Whilst recognizing that 'very little [is known] in total and virtually nothing about two-thirds of his life', Alain Demurger corroborates the main features penned in Barber's early article on James of Molay.<sup>15</sup> Demurger describes Molay as having 'little perspicacity', whilst 'his attitude bordered on recklessness'. Though not an intellectual, Molay appears as 'a man of good sense, average intelligence and at times not lacking in shrewdness and perceptiveness ... a strong character, proud, sometimes arrogant, although not overbearing ... He may have been intransigent and consistent in his ideas and objectives to the point of seeming stubborn, but he was neither narrow-minded nor stupid.'<sup>16</sup> As for the master's responsibility for the

<sup>11</sup> J. Fried, 'Wille, Freiwilligkeit und Geständnis um 1300.: Zur Beurteilung des letzten Templergrossmeisters James of Molay', *Historisches Jahrbuch* 105 (1915), pp. 388–425. According to Bulst-Thiele, the mere threat of torture brought about the master's confession: M.-L. Bulst-Thiele, *Sacrae Domus Militiae Templi Hierosolymitani Magistri: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Templerordens 1118/19–1314* (Göttingen, 1974), pp. 320–21.

<sup>12</sup> P. Partner, *The Murdered Magicians: The Templars and their Myth* (Oxford, 1982), pp. 38, 67.

<sup>13</sup> Bulst-Thiele, *Sacrae Domus Militiae Templi Hierosolymitani Magistri*, pp. 301, 344–6.

<sup>14</sup> H. Nicholson, *The Knights Templar: A New History* (Sparkford, 2001), p. 237.

<sup>15</sup> A. Demurger, *The Last Templar: The Tragedy of Jacques de Molay; Last Grand Master of the Temple*, trans. A. Nevill (Bungay, 2004), p. xiii.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., p. 211.

dissolution of the order, Demurger reaches the conclusion that 'neither he nor the pope could have imagined the extreme turn that the royal offensive would take'.<sup>17</sup> He further raises doubts whether there was at the time any real alternative to the master who could have performed the job better. Still, Molay had failed in his early attempts to reform the order, and his stubborn opposition to a union with the Hospital might, according to Demurger, have played some role among the factors that eventually brought about the dissolution of the Temple.<sup>18</sup>

Notwithstanding the many studies devoted to the Temple and its last master, the personality of James of Molay still remains vague. Who was James of Molay? What kind of relationship did he maintain with other dignitaries of the order? Can one point to internal conflicts similar to those that characterized the Hospital at the time, during the mastership of Fulk of Villaret?<sup>19</sup> What kind of image did Molay project to his contemporaries before and during the trial, and following his tragic death at the stake? It is not the objective of this paper to try to decipher, once again, the puzzle left by James of Molay in regard to his influence, or lack of it, on the process that eventually brought about the dissolution of the Temple. We will focus instead on the few testimonies of the master himself *vis-à-vis* his image as portrayed in contemporary narrative sources. Such an investigation will clarify an additional question, namely the approach taken by fourteenth-century chroniclers to the historical process, and the degree of influence they ascribed to the leading personages of the time.

Available sources do not allow a comprehensive analysis of James of Molay's personality or a detailed reconstruction of his mastership. Still, the simple-minded master portrayed in research does not always fit the few testimonies we have. Molay's itinerary from 1292–93, when he came into office, up to his arrest, presents a very active officer, whose presence was felt both in the provincial chapters of the order and in the courts of Christendom's leading monarchs.<sup>20</sup> Moreover, the two reports written by the master on the forthcoming crusade and the union of the orders, as well as his depositions before the papal commissions, call for the formation of a new hypothesis about the last master of the Temple and his personality, as well as his perception of the order and its role in Christendom after the fall of Acre.

In his first deposition before the papal commission (26 November 1309), Molay referred to the fact that 'the order had been confirmed and granted privileges by the Holy See, and that he thought it very surprising if the Roman Church desired to proceed to the destruction of the said order there and then, seeing that the sentence of deposition against the Emperor Frederick had been deferred for thirty-two years'.<sup>21</sup> Such a declaration hints at some understanding of ecclesiastical policy, as well as a

17 Ibid., p. 170.

18 Ibid., pp. 218–20.

19 A. Luttrell, 'Notes on Foulques de Villaret, Master of the Hospital, 1305–1319', in *Guillaume de Villaret 1er Receteur du Comtat Venaissin 1274, Grand Maître de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint Jean de Jérusalem, Chypre 1296* (Paris, 1985), pp. 76–90.

20 See the chronological table presented in Demurger, *The Last Templar*, pp. 264–6.

21 Michelet, ed., *Procès des Templiers*, 1.32; M. Barber and K. Bate, eds, *The Templars: Selected Sources Translated and Annotated* (Manchester, 2002), p. 287.

certain sense of humour, notwithstanding the fact that at this stage Molay had spent two years under Capetian pressure, and at least during the first phases of his trial, had probably been subjected to torture.

The relations that had existed between the papal curia and the Templar order, indeed, did not hint at any developments of the kind that the order underwent between 1307 and 1312. The arrest of the Templars, after all, was not a move instigated by Clement V, but by Philip the Fair. May one therefore assume that the master was ignorant of the new balance of forces in the west that had apparently reduced the Holy See to a secondary role? This possibility, which is widely accepted in research, is not supported by available evidence. The move of the 'Rex Christianissimus' against the order was unprecedented in the annals of the medieval Church. As Joseph Strayer pointed out some years ago, 'No modern dictatorship could have done a better job.'<sup>22</sup> Though the master was probably aware of the growing animosity against the order,<sup>23</sup> he could not have presumed an action of the magnitude that the king of France enforced in practice. One should further note that the arrest took Clement V himself by surprise, notwithstanding the fact that the pope had previously discussed with Philip the Fair the situation of the Military Orders in general and of the Templars in particular.<sup>24</sup>

One may further assert that Molay identified the king of France not as a potential enemy, but as a decisive partner in his project to unleash a new crusade, a view that was shared by Clement V.<sup>25</sup> Thus, when trying to advance the strategy of a general crusade in his report to the pope of 1306–1307, Molay offered his services to both Clement V and Philip the Fair; he committed himself to provide both of them with useful information about 'Outremer' and the most effective ways to bring about a Christian victory over the Muslims.<sup>26</sup> Incidentally, some of the ideas advanced by the master, such as enforcing a commercial blockade on the Italian maritime communes, thereby stopping their profitable trade with the Muslims, represented not only the traditional strategy of the papacy,<sup>27</sup> but the policy supported and implemented by

22 J. Strayer, *The Reign of Philip the Fair* (Princeton, NJ, 1980), p. 286.

23 See the letter of Clement V to Philip the Fair dated 24 August 1307 in E. Boutaric, 'Clément V, Philippe le Bel et les Templiers', *Revue des questions historiques* 10 (1871), pp. 324–5.

24 The pope stressed his feelings of betrayal in 'Ad preclaras sapientie': see E. Baluze, 'Notae ad vitas', in E. Baluze, ed., *Vitae Paparum Avenionensium hoc est historia pontificum romanorum ... ab anno Christi 1305 usque ad annum 1394*, new edn by G. Mollat, 4 vols (Paris 1916–28), 3.54; E. Boutaric, 'Clément V, Philippe le Bel et les Templiers', pp. 331–2.

25 S. Menache, *Clement V* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 101–19.

26 'Collectio actorum veterum', ed. E. Baluze, in his *Vitae Paparum Avenionensium*, 3.147–8.

27 J. Trenchs Odena, 'De Alexandrinis: El comercio prohibido con los musulmanes y el papado de Aviñón durante la primera mitad del siglo XIV', *Anuario de estudios medievales* 10 (1980), pp. 237–60; D. Abulafia, *A Mediterranean Emporium: The Catalan Kingdom of Majorca* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 159–64.

Clement V.<sup>28</sup> In addition, the renewal of the crusade continued to attract attention in Christendom, whilst increasing deliberations over whether it should assume a universal or more restricted character.<sup>29</sup>

In his second deposition (28 November 1309), Molay described himself as 'an impoverished knight who knew no Latin'. He rejected time and again the offer of the papal commissioners that he should defend the order. None the less, he brought three facts to their attention that, in his view, elevated the Temple over all other orders active in Christendom: first, its beautiful, rich churches and the holy relics they displayed; second, the many alms that were given to the poor three times each week, as stipulated by the Rule,<sup>30</sup> and third, the readiness of Templars to sacrifice themselves in service of their faith. When the papal commissioners rejected these allegations as a proof of orthodoxy, Molay declared his complete adherence to the principles of the Church, namely, 'that he believed fully in one God and in the Trinity ... and that there was one God and one religion and one baptism and one Church and when the soul was separated from the body then it became clear who was good and who was bad ...'.<sup>31</sup>

The declarations made by James of Molay have often been overlooked in scholarly research. But if one takes into account their content and the circumstances under which they were pronounced, they are found to hint at the image of the order in which the master believed or wanted to publicize. In the words of the master, the Temple appears as a Catholic order, one that venerates the saints and gives honour to their relics. As against the harsh criticism directed at Templar wealth,<sup>32</sup> the master calls attention to the order's many contributions to the needy, which were part and parcel of the Templars' daily routine. Above all, he emphasizes the sacrifice made by so many Templars for the faith and the Holy Land over the years, a fact corroborated by their courageous fighting during the Christians' last battle at Acre. By taking this line of defence, Molay was laying claim to the heritage of Bernard de Clairvaux

28 *Regestum Clementis Papae V ex Vaticanis archetypes ... nunc primum editum cura et studio monachorum ordinis sancti Benedicti*, 8 vols (Rome, 1884-94), nos 2,986, 2,994-5, 3,088, 7,118-19. See also Menache, *Clement V*, pp. 106-7.

29 S. Schein, *Fideles Crucis: The Papacy, the West, and the Recovery of the Holy Land (1274-1314)* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 51-73; N. Housley, *The Later Crusades: From Lyons to Alcazar 1274-1580* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 25-48 and *passim*.

30 See clauses 98 and 347 in J. Upton-Ward, ed., *The Rule of the Templars: The French Text of the Rule of the Order of the Knights Templar* (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 43-4, 96-7.

31 Michelet, ed., *Procès des Templiers*, 1.42-3; Barber and Bates, eds, *The Templars: Selected Sources*, pp. 293-4.

32 Rumours about the enormous wealth of the Templars and criticism of their greed had already begun by 1200, and grew in parallel with the development of the order. See WT, pp. 553-5; John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, 7.21, ed. C. Webb, 2 vols (Oxford, 1909), 2.190-201; Walter Map, *De mugis curialium*, chs 19, 20, 23, ed. M.R. James (Oxford, 1914), pp. 29-31, 34-5; Jacques de Vitry, *Sermo 37*, 'ad fratres ordinis militaris', in J.B. Pitre, ed., *Sermones Vulgares, Analecta novissima: Spicilegii Solesmensis altera continuatio*, 2 vols (Paris, 1888), 2.409-11.

for his own times, a legacy that elevated the Templars, the 'milites Christi' *par excellence*, over the 'malitia saeculi', and hopefully over the malevolence of the Most Christian King as well.<sup>33</sup>

When pressed about the principles of the faith, the master responded with a Catholic 'creed' of the kind that Valdo had been forced to pronounce in the previous century in order to exonerate himself from charges of heresy.<sup>34</sup> Emphasis on the principle of 'One Lord, one faith, one baptism' (Ephesians 4:5) returned to the sources of the Catholic faith and was reiterated continually by the leading theologians of the time, such as Jacques de Viterbo or Jean Quidort de Paris.<sup>35</sup> As to the immediate reward or punishment after death, one may find here an early illustration of the debate over the Beatific Vision, which drew much attention and raised high emotions during the last years of the pontificate of John XXII (1333–34).<sup>36</sup>

Rather than being anachronistic or simple-minded, the declarations made by James of Molay before the papal commission thus involved the most important issues of the day.<sup>37</sup> Moreover, bearing in mind that they were pronounced under the constraining auspices of the Most Christian King, the master's declarations acquire crucial importance both at the theological and at the ecclesiastical level. The question still stands, however: to what degree did these declarations leave their imprint on the image of the last master of the Temple that was harboured by his contemporaries?

One of the most detailed testimonies regarding James of Molay appears in the *Chronicle of the Templar of Tyre*, also known as *Les Gestes des Chiprois*. James of Molay was depicted here as an obstinate, unreasonable man with an avaricious disposition. As such, the master encountered many problems in his dealings with both Pope Clement V and the cardinals – who, rather surprisingly, were depicted in a very positive light – and the leading members of his own order, a subject that the chronicler developed further. The master supposedly brought about the dismissal of Jean du Tour, treasurer of the Temple in Paris, because of a loan of 400,000

33 Bernard of Clairvaux, 'Liber ad Milites Templi de Laude Novae Militiae', in J. Leclercq, ed., *S. Bernardi Opera*, vol. 3 (Rome 1963), p. 216; see also the Temple's Rule, clauses 1, 9, Upton-Ward, ed., *The Rule of the Templars*, pp. 19, 21, 35.

34 C. Thouzellier, *Catharisme et Valdéisme en Languedoc à la fin du XIIe et au début du XIIIe siècle* (2nd edn, Louvain, 1969), pp. 27–34; A. Dondaine, 'Aux Origines du Valdéisme: Une profession de foi de Valdès', *Archivum fratrum praedicatorum* 16 (1946), pp. 231–2.

35 Jacques de Viterbe, *De Reginime Christiano*, ed. H. Arquillière (Paris, 1926), pp. 118, 204, 209, 211–12; Johannes Quidort von Paris, *De Regia Potestate et Papali*, c. 3, ed. F. Bleienstein (Stuttgart, 1969), p. 81. See also J. Watt, 'The Theory of Papal Monarchy in the Thirteenth Century: The Contribution of the Canonists', *Traditio* 20 (1964), p. 257.

36 K.E. Kirk, *The Vision of God: The Christian Doctrine of the Summum Bonum* (Cambridge, 1931; new edn, J. Clarke, 1991); C. Trottmann, *La vision bénatique: Des disputes scolastiques à sa définition par Benoît XII* (Rome, 1995), pp. 417–46; D.L. Douie, 'John XXII and the Beatific Vision', *Dominican Studies* 3 (1950), pp. 154–74.

37 As to the possibility that Molay actually won papal absolution during the trial, see the document published by Barbara Frale, 'The Chinon Chart: Papal Absolution to the Last Templar, Master Jacques de Molay', *Journal of Medieval History* 30 (2004), pp. 133–4.

gold florins that the latter had advanced to the king of France without receiving the master's approval as requested by the Rule. Notwithstanding the intervention of both pope and king in favour of the treasurer, Molay refused to re-admit him to the order, and even destroyed a papal letter on du Tour's behalf. The Templar of Tyre thus depicts an authoritarian master, very jealous of the prerogatives of his rank, but less attentive to those of contemporary rulers, whether pope or king. On a more general level, the chronicler was aware of the wave of emotions generated by the arrest and trial of the Templars, and accordingly displayed a cautious attitude: 'Et depuis a été parlé entre la gent de tantes manières de la religion dou Temple que je ne say qu'y vérité je puisse escrire.' Following the tragic death of the Templar leaders at the stake, however, he gave testimony of their Catholic faith, though he left open to divine justice the question of the guilt or innocence of the order as a whole. Should the latter alternative prove true, the Templars would actually be turned into martyrs before God.<sup>38</sup>

The report of the Templar of Tyre has provided food for vivid discussion in research. Though Alain Demurger accords low credence to the whole testimony,<sup>39</sup> Barbara Frale regards the master's supposed opposition to the loan as a principal factor driving Philip the Fair's aggressive policy toward the order.<sup>40</sup> None the less, from James of Molay's perspective, this testimony acquires maximum importance owing to the fact that it was written in the east – where, up to 1306, the master spent most of his time – and served as source of inspiration to other sources.<sup>41</sup> Moreover, the anonymous author probably worked as a secretary during the mastership of William of Beaujeu (between 1273 and 1291).<sup>42</sup> Even if there is no convincing proof that the author knew Molay personally, it is reasonable to assume that he was able to collect evidence from other contemporaries, perhaps also members of the order, who did know the master.

The information provided by narrative sources written in Europe is very poor.<sup>43</sup> Chronicles written within the kingdom of France show little interest in James of Molay until the last moments of his life. Jean de St Victor, however, mentions the fact that the master 'had fully acknowledged his misdeeds ... without torture'.<sup>44</sup> This laconic report hints at the confessions given by James of Molay in the Templar house in Paris on 24 October 1307, which he corroborated the following day in his

38 L. Minervini, ed., *Cronaca del Templare di Tiro (1243–1314)* (Naples, 2000), para. 460 (696), pp. 340–41; 'Les Gestes des Chiprois', in *RHC Arm.* 2.869–70.

39 Demurger, *The Last Templar*, pp. 160ff.

40 B. Frale, *L'ultima battaglia dei Templari* (Roma, 2001), pp. 73ff.

41 Amadi reproduces the whole text: 'Chronique d'Amadi', in M. René de Mas Latrie, ed., *Chroniques d'Amadi et de Strambaldi* (Paris, 1891), pp. 280–81.

42 Minervini, ed., *Cronaca del Templare di Tiro*, p. 1.

43 S. Menache, 'Contemporary Attitudes Concerning the Templars' Affair: A Propaganda Fiasco?', *Journal of Medieval History* 8 (1982), pp. 135–47.

44 'Prima Vita Clementis V auctore Joanne canonico Sancti Victoris Parisiensis', in Baluze, ed., *Vitae Paparum Avenionensium*, 1.8–9; Baluze, 'Notae ad vitas paparum Avenionensium', *ibid.*, 3.52–5.

public letter to all members of the order. The master recognized that at his reception ceremony in Beaune forty-two years ago, he had been requested to deny Christ three times, and he had obeyed, 'but with his mouth, not with his heart'. He did not, however, remember whether he had spat upon the cross, but probably had done so, though only once, and on the floor.<sup>45</sup> However, he had kissed Brother Humbert de Pairaud, who presided over the reception ceremony, on the navel. Molay insisted, though, that he never had carnal intercourse with any member of the order, and he utterly rejected the charge of sodomy.<sup>46</sup> Still, several Templars during the trial accused the master of having homosexual intercourse with serving brothers and with his own valet.<sup>47</sup>

The master's admission of some of the charges propagated by the Capetian court was not widely accepted, however, and there were some chroniclers who specifically noted the lack of proof with regard to the notorious vices that were imputed to the Templars.<sup>48</sup> In any case, most authors disregarded the master's role in the whole process, and instead focused their attention on the master's tragic death on 18 March 1314. The anonymous continuator of Guillaume de Nangis mentions the astonishment and wide admiration that the master's courageous behaviour at the stake aroused among his contemporaries.<sup>49</sup> Geoffroi de Paris, who was probably an eyewitness of the macabre spectacle on the Ile des Juifs, gives a more detailed account of the master's last moments, especially his prophecy that all those involved, in particular Pope Clement V and King Philip the Fair, and their heirs would soon be brought before a divine tribunal.<sup>50</sup> Other chroniclers emphasized the high status and the many honours enjoyed by James of Molay in his capacity as master, such as ushering one of the children of Philip the Fair.<sup>51</sup> This was not exceptional; quite the contrary. Just

45 Strange though they may appear, these rites could have been a profession ceremony or an entrance ritual, of a kind that had been common in military units since early antiquity; see Frale, 'The Chinon Chart', pp. 127–8.

46 Michelet, ed., *Procès des Templiers*, pp. 305–6; G. Lizerand, *Le Dossier de l'affaire du Temple* (Paris, 1910, reprint. 1964), p. 35; Barber and Bates, eds, *The Templars: Selected Sources*, pp. 252–3.

47 Michelet, ed., *Procès des Templiers*, 2.207–8, 289–90, 294.

48 'Extraits d'une chronique anonyme finissant en M.CCC.LXXXIII', in M. Bouquet et al., eds, *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, 24 vols (Paris, 1737–1904), 21.142–3.

49 H. Géraud, ed., *Chronique latine de Guillaume de Nangis de 1113 à 1300 avec les continuations de cette chronique de 1300 à 1368*, 2 vols (Paris, 1843), 1.403–4. This testimony was corroborated in the 'Continuatio chronici Girardi de Fracheto', in Bouquet, ed., *Recueil*, 21.40.

50 'S'en vendra en brief temps meschié / Sus celz qui nous dampnent à tort: / Diex en vengera nostre mort': A. Divèrres, ed., *La chronique métrique attribuée à Geffroy de Paris* (Strasbourg, 1956), pp. 219ff.; Bouquet, ed., *Recueil*, 22.145. For the impact of curses of this kind on contemporary audiences, see C. Beaune, 'Les rois maudis', in *Mythes et histoire, Cahier du Centre d'études médiévales de Nice* 12 (1992), pp. 7–24.

51 'Extraits d'une chronique anonyme intitulée Anciennes chroniques de Flandre', in Bouquet, ed., *Recueil*, 22.399.

one day before his arrest (12 October 1307), Molay escorted the funeral cortège of Countess Catherine of Valois in Paris in the presence of Philip the Fair, and was bestowed a place of honour among other members of the nobility.

Far away from the direct influence of the king of France, some chroniclers in Germany hint at Clement's remorse for the destruction of the Temple, which was presented at the same level as the pope's alleged participation in the sudden death of the venerated emperor Henry of Luxemburg.<sup>52</sup> John of Viktring, moreover, refers to the biblical predicament of 'Wilt thou also destroy the righteous with the wicked?' (Genesis 18:23) to hint at the injustice caused to the order as a whole because of the presence of some sinners in its ranks, a possibility that he did not take the trouble to develop any further.<sup>53</sup> In England, special emphasis was placed on Philip's animosity towards the order in general, and its master in particular, as well as on the royal attempts to bring as many Templars as possible to the stake.<sup>54</sup> Walsingham provides some reasons for royal animosity, mainly Philip's desire to crown one of his sons as king of Jerusalem by bestowing Templar wealth on him.<sup>55</sup> Thomas de la Moore is more specific, and attributes Philip's hostility toward James of Molay to the latter's refusal to agree to royal demands for funds for the dowry of Isabella, Philip's only daughter.<sup>56</sup>

The causes of the personal animosity between king and master or between king and order did not remain a field of speculation among medieval chroniclers alone. The well-known medievalist Edgar Bourtaric mentioned the fact that during the riots protesting against royal monetary policy in 1306, the mob set aflame the house of the treasurer, Etienne Bardette, and insulted the king, who was forced to ask for shelter in the house of the Temple. While emphasizing the great humiliation the king felt in his own capital, Bourtaric concludes: 'One may assume that he will never forgive them for the services that they had provided him on this occasion.'<sup>57</sup>

Information about James of Molay does not become any better in the narrative sources emanating from the Italian peninsula. Iohannis de Bazano mentions that Philip brought about the dissolution of the Temple and was responsible for the

52 'Cronica S. Petri Erfordensis Moderna A. 113 – 1316', in *MGH SS* 30–31.446.

53 'Iohannes Victoriensis [John of Viktring] 1211–1343', in J. Böhmer, ed., *Fontes Rerum Germanicarum*, 4 vols (Stuttgart, 1843–68), 1.370.

54 Adae Murimuth, *Continuatio chronicarum*, ed. E.M. Thompson, *RS* (London, 1889), p. 17.

55 Thomae Walsingham, 'Historia Anglicana', in *Chronica monasterii S. Albani*, 2 vols (London, 1863–64), 1.127.

56 'Vita et mors Edwardi Secundi Regis Angliae conscripta a Thoma de la Moore equite aurato', in W. Stubbs, ed., *Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II*, *RS*, 2 vols. (London, 1882–83), 2.298–9. On the royal marriage and its repercussions, see E. Brown, 'The Political Repercussions of Family Ties in the Early Fourteenth Century: The Marriage of Edward II of England and Isabelle of France', *Speculum* 63 (1988), pp. 573–95; *adem*, 'The Marriage of Edward II of England and Isabelle of France: A Postscript', *Speculum* 64 (1989), pp. 373–9.

57 Bourtaric, 'Clément V, Philippe le Bel et les Templiers', pp. 315–16.

execution of many of its members at the stake, 'especially the grand master'.<sup>58</sup> Villani undoubtedly provides one of the most vivid details about the master's protracted martyrdom, during which Molay repeatedly declared the Catholic faith of the order while committing his soul to God and the Virgin Mary.<sup>59</sup> Villani also refers to the veneration of contemporaries towards James of Molay's corpse, which they treasured as a holy relic and deposited in a holy place.<sup>60</sup> Basing his description on the testimony of his father, who was in Paris at the time, Giovanni Boccaccio, too, provides a dramatic report of the master's last moments. The Florentine author stressed the enrichment of the order and the dishonest motivations of Philip the Fair, the main instigator of the order's dissolution.<sup>61</sup> Indeed, the injustice caused to the Temple led Dante Alighieri to refer to Philip as 'a new Pilate', who, motivated by insatiable greed, laid his hands on Templar wealth.<sup>62</sup>

Beyond differences of approach as to the guilt or innocence of the order and the responsibility of both pope and king in the process, mediaeval narrative sources thus reveal a tendency to exclude the last master of the Temple from the focus of attention; their references to James of Molay, if any, are of secondary importance. The lack of reference to James of Molay stands in striking contradiction to the customary personification of institutions and processes in medieval historical writing, one that laid emphasis on the king (in this case, Philip the Fair) rather than on the monarchy, and on the pope (Clement V) rather than on the papacy. The disregard of James of Molay, on the one hand, and the extensive reference to the trial and dissolution of the Temple, on the other, cannot therefore be regarded as accidental. Given the extensive interest in the fate of the Temple, one possible interpretation would be to connect the lack of interest in James of Molay with the political trend that developed at the beginning of the fourteenth century, namely the dissociation between rulers and the institution of which they were in charge. When Henry de Lacy, earl of Lincoln, claimed before Edward II that his boundless loyalty to the crown allowed, and even obliged, him to attack Edward should the king harm the ancestral rights of monarchy in 1308, he was actually advancing a differentiation

58 Iohannis de Bazano, 'Chronicon Mutinense (aa. 1188–1363)', in L.A. Muratori, ed., *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, 25 vols (Milan, 1723–51), 15/4.71.

59 'E avuto consiglio col re, il detto maestro e suoi compagni in su l'Isola di Parigi dinanzi a la sala del re per lo modo degli altri loro frieri furono messi a martirio, ardendo il maestro a poco a poco, e sempre dicendo che la magione e loro religione era cattolica e giusta, accomandandosi a Dio e a santa Maria ...': Giovanni Villani, *Istorie fiorentine*, l. IX, c. 92, 8 vols (Milan, 1802–1803), 2.184–5.

60 'E nota che la notte appresso che'l detto maestro e'l compagno furono martorizzati, per frati e altri religiosi le loro corpora e ossa come relique sante furono ricolte, e portate via in sacri luoghi': *ibid.*

61 G. Boccaccio, 'De casibus virorum illustrium', l. 9, c. 21 in *Tutte le opere di Giovanni Boccaccio*, ed. V. Branco (Milan, 1985), pp. 822–31.

62 'Veggio il novo Pilato si crudele / che ciò nol sazia, ma sanza decreto / portar nel Tempio le cupide vele'; Dante Alighieri, *Purgatorio*, c. xx, vv. 90–93, in *La Divina Commedia*, ed. G. Giacalone (Rome, 1988), pp. 450–51.

between the person/politics of the king in office and the status of monarchy, as an institution that was blessed by God.<sup>63</sup> The disregard of James of Molay, in contrast to the focus of attention on the Temple in medieval narrative sources, may therefore be regarded as symptomatic of a newer methodological approach, one that gradually put an end to the medieval personification of institutions. It further appears to be an indirect expression of the overall evaluation that contemporaries made of what occurred, in that an unscrupulous *entente* between pope and king did not leave much room for manoeuvre for the last master of the Temple. By consigning James of Molay to a secondary plane, mediaeval chroniclers ironically exonerated him from responsibility for the dissolution of the order, and instead paved the way for his honourable entrance into the eternal world of myth.

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63 'Gesta Edwardi de Carnavan auctore canonico Bridlingtoniensi', in Stubbs, ed., *Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II*, 2.33–4, trans. H. Rothwell in *English Historical Documents*, gen. ed. D. Douglas, 10 vols (London, 1955–77), 3.525–6. According to Walter Ullmann, this differentiation goes back to the very beginnings of Christianity: W. Ullmann, *Medieval Political Thought* (Harmondsworth, 1975), pp. 25–7; *idem*, *Law and Politics in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1975), pp. 25–50.

# Index

*The following abbreviations are used: a: archbishop [of]; b: bishop [of]; c: count [of]; d: duke [of]; e: emperor [of]; H: Hospitaller; k: king [of]; OT: Old Testament; p: pope; q: queen [of]; T: Templar. All individuals are listed under their first name. Entries are given letter by letter:*

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